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THE
JOURNAL OF A BRIGADE CHAPLAIN
IN THE
CAMPAIGN OF 1779 AGAINST THE SIX NATIONS
UNDER COMMAND OF
MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN.
BY THE
REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D. D.
WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES BY THE PUBLISHER.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

THE following Journal is reprinted from the columns of the Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal, of Providence, where it appeared at intervals during the months of October, November and December, 1823. Into that paper it was copied from the columns of the Philadelphia Gazette. A portion of it, covering a period from June 20th to August 7th, had previously appeared in the American Universal Magazine, printed at Philadelphia, in 1797. It was discontinued by reason of the death of Mr. Lee, the editor of that magazine. Other than in these ways it is not known by the publisher to have appeared. Thus far his inquiries for the original manuscript have been fruitless. A concise memoir of the author has been prefixed, and also a short historical introduction. For the facts in the biographical introduction the writer is specially indebted to the copious notes left by Dr. Rogers in his family Bible. Notes have been added in sundry places, some illustrative of the growth of a country of bears, wolves and Indians, in a single century, to its present condition, and some illustrative of the text of the diary from contemporary writers. Dr. Rogers' connection with Sullivan's army ceased with the entry of August 28. From that time until the

return of the expedition to Wyoming, October 7th, the operations of the army are given in a condensed account gathered from contemporary writers, but particularly from the diary of Colonel Hubley. For all this the publisher is responsible. A map compiled from various others has been prepared to illustrate the whole expedition, and another to illustrate particularly the country around Wyoming, has been taken by permission of the Messrs. Harpers, from their edition of Peck's Wyoming. Dr. Rogers being of Rhode Island origin, his diary may not inaptly find a place in a series of Rhode Island Historical Tracts, and its being just a century old this coming summer, seems to be a favorable time for its appearance.

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE author of the following diary was the son of William Rogers, merchant, of Newport, Rhode Island, and Sarah, his wife, in which town he was born on the 22nd of July, 1751. He was sent to Grafton, Massachusetts, where, under the tuition of the Rev. Aaron Hutchinson, he prepared for college. He entered as a student in Rhode Island College on the 3rd of September, 1765. He was not only the first student in that institution, but for upwards of ten months its only student. He graduated in 1769, receiving the degree of A. B., and three years later in 1772, that of A. M. He returned to Newport, and was employed as a teacher in an academy whereof he became principal. In 1770, he made a public profession of religion, was baptized, and became a member of the Baptist church of Newport. Having

concluded to enter the Christian ministry, he was called and licensed to preach by this church in 1771. During the latter part of that year he was earnestly solicited to remove to Philadelphia, to which solicitation he finally yielded and was soon after called to be its pastor by the Baptist Church of that city. Accepting this call he was ordained and set apart for the sacred work of the ministry on the 31st May, 1772. He remained pastor of this church until March, 1775, when a separation occurred; he however continued to minister unto them until the June following.

In March, 1776, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania voted to raise three Battalions of Foot for the defence of the province, and Mr. Rogers received the appointment of Chaplain to these Battalions. In June, 1778, he was promoted to be a Brigade Chaplain in the Pennsylvania line, which position he continued to hold until June, 1781, when he retired from the military service. From this time until 1789, he has left no record of his employment, but he relates that during these years he received calls or invitations to become the pastor of sundry churches

of divers denominations in various parts of the country, to wit: one from the Episcopal Church in Providence, Rhode Island; this was Saint John's Church, and the call was made in 1782. It appears that the wardens of the church invited Dr. Rogers to preach in their church, which he did, on three successive Sundays in June, and with such satisfaction that he was invited for the fourth Sunday to "officiate in his way, provided he cannot conform to our Liturgy, but if he will conform, the congregation invite him to further serve them." He also received a call to the Congregational Church in Hartford, Connecticut, and another to the Baptist Church in Baltimore, Maryland. These various invitations he declined. In 1789, he was appointed Professor of English and Oratory in the College and Academy of Philadelphia, which position he accepted and held until 1792, in which year he was elected Professor of English and Belles Lettres in the University of Pennsylvania, which position he continued to hold until 1812, when he resigned in "consequence of the arbitrary resolutions of its Trustees, to which they were instigated by the restless and ambitious

spirit of a despotical Provost, John Andrews, D. D." In 1816, he was elected a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, for the county of Philadelphia, and re-elected in 1817.

Degrees were conferred upon him by various literary institutions. Yale, Princeton, and the College and Academy of Philadelphia, conferred upon him the degree of A. M., and the University of Pennsylvania, made him a D. D. The question of Human Slavery early attracted him. In 1790, he was made one of the Vice Presidents of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Gradual Abolition of Slavery; he was also, in 1794 a member of the Maryland Society for the same object, and likewise, in 1823 a member of the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade.¹

With a heart overflowing with charity for his fellow men he early possessed, and long retained, a profound interest in every combined effort for the amelioration of the miseries of mankind. He was an officer in the Philadelphia Baptist Society for Foreign

1. The Constitution of this Society was published in a pamphlet form by John Carter, at Providence, 1780.

Missions, and of the Philadelphia Society of Domestic Missions, and was a delegate to, and an officer of the Convention which formed the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States in 1814. He was likewise chosen one of the Vice Presidents of the Philadelphia Society for alleviating the miseries of Public Prisons. He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, before which Society in 1789, he delivered a Fourth of July Oration, which was published.¹ Although not a voluminous writer, yet several things of his were published. Furthermore he was a contributor to the periodical press of his time; to Dr. Rippon's Register, published in London, he contributed a memoir of the Rev. Morgan Edwards, one of the founders of Brown University, and other papers. Dr. Rogers was twice married, first to Miss Hannah Gardner of Philadelphia, who died of yellow fever in 1793, in which year many thousands died in that stricken city. He was married, second, to Miss Susannah Marsh, likewise of Philadelphia, who survived him many years. Dr. Rogers closed a

1. This oration was printed entire in the Providence Gazette, on the 2nd and 9th of January, 1790.

long and happy life, in the city of his adoption on the 7th of April, 1824, the last surviving chaplain of the Revolutionary army.¹ In personal appearance Dr. Rogers was of medium height, preserving until his seventy-third year the erect form of his youth, with all its activity and agility, possessing none of the infirmities of age. His eye was dark, his complexion bright and his countenance wore a benign expression, consequent upon his correct life, studious habits and cheerful disposition. Strong must have been the affection which existed in this family, if one may judge by the strong bursts of it which we yet see manifested by his surviving daughter² after a separation of half a century. In none of the various biographical notices which have thus far appeared is any notice of the following diary to be found, which leads to the conclusion that its existence has been overlooked. Possessed of a liberal education and refined in manner, with a dignified presence, Dr. Rogers became at once a man of mark among his

1. Appendix to Farmer and Moore's Hist. Col., v. 3, p. 39.

2. This estimable lady died in Providence, while these sheets were passing through the press.

contemporaries. We find him enjoying a social position equal to any in those early days; a friend of Washington, he was on terms of intimacy with his family, and with the most distinguished men of his time in all the principal cities.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

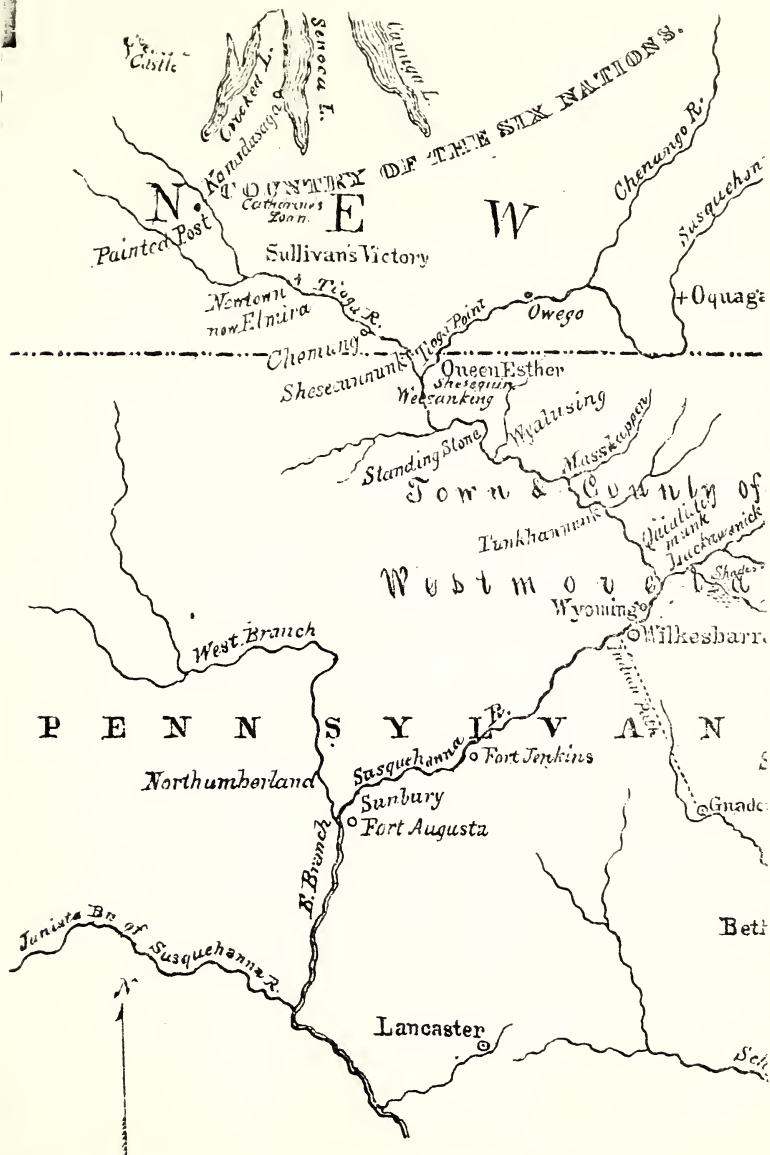
THE massacre at Wyoming took place in the summer of 1778. A force consisting of British Rangers, together with a body of Indians, in number estimated by different authorities at from five hundred to seven hundred men, under the command of Colonel John Butler, descended the Tioga and Susquehannah rivers, and fell upon the inhabitants of the Valley of Wyoming. Large numbers of the younger men were absent, serving in the Continental army. An attempt at defence was made by the remaining settlers, led by Colonel Zebulon Butler. This attempt soon led to defeat, which resulted immediately in a massacre. No human power could restrain the ferocity of the victors, and the histories are full of the wildest stories of personal adventure. According to various authorities from two hundred to three hundred

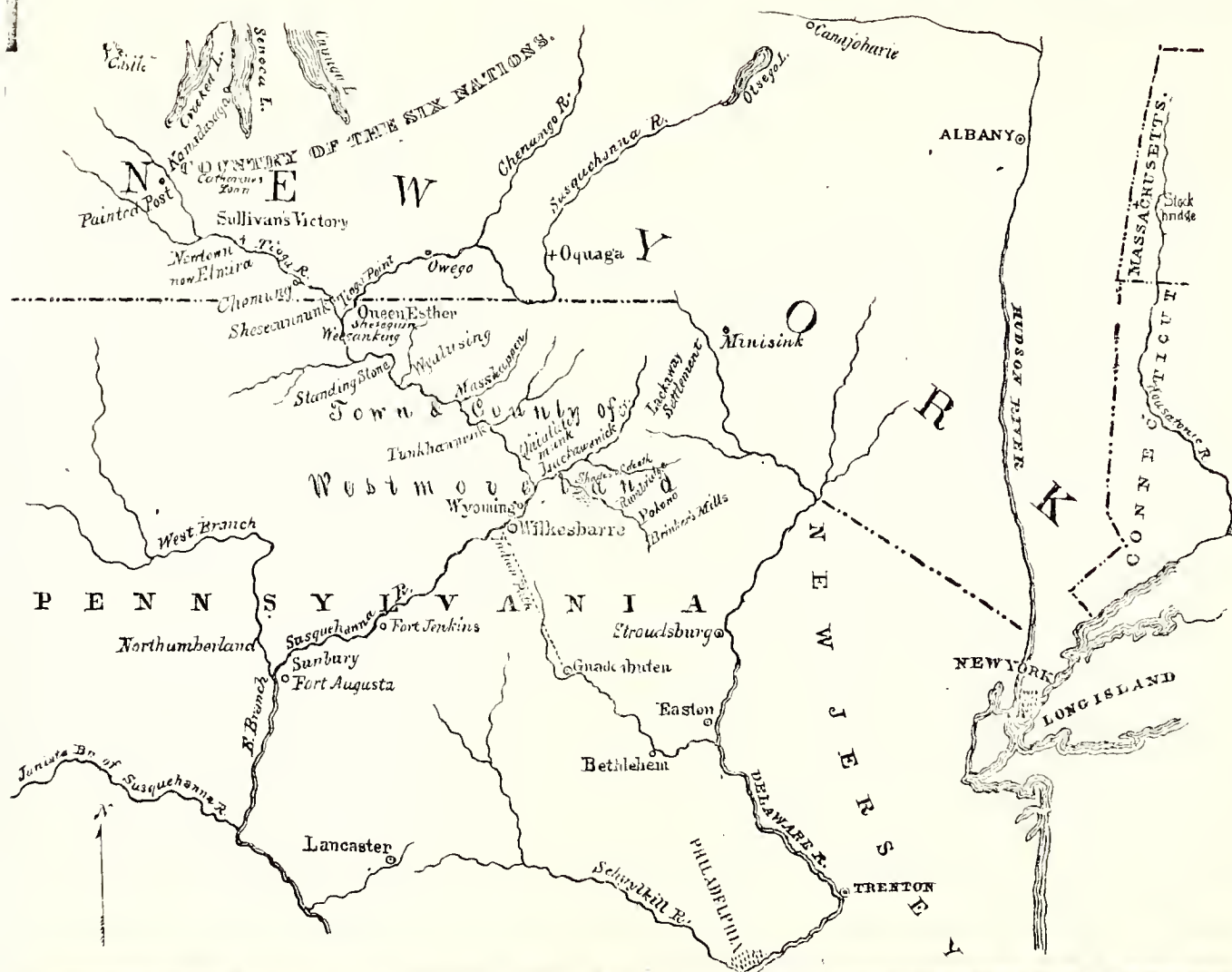
scalps were taken by the victors within an hour from the commencement of the attack. Every house was burned, ten forts, or more properly speaking, stockades, which had been constructed as a line of defence and refuge for the settlement, fell into the hands of the enemy and were destroyed. The settlers were entirely without military discipline, training or organization. The result was without a parallel in the history of the early conflicts between the white settlers and the aborigines. This affair took place in July; in August the scattered living remnants of the former inhabitants of this once thrifty valley, commenced returning to the scene of desolation. Offensive measures were at once begun. A force under command of Colonel Hartley, ascended the river as far as Queen Esther's dominions and laid in waste the habitations and fields of the Indians. This force returned in October to Wyoming, and with the exception of the occasional ambushment of a settler, active operations ceased until the following summer. In February, 1779, Congress directed Washington to take measures to protect these frontiers and to punish the Indians. In pursuance of this object an

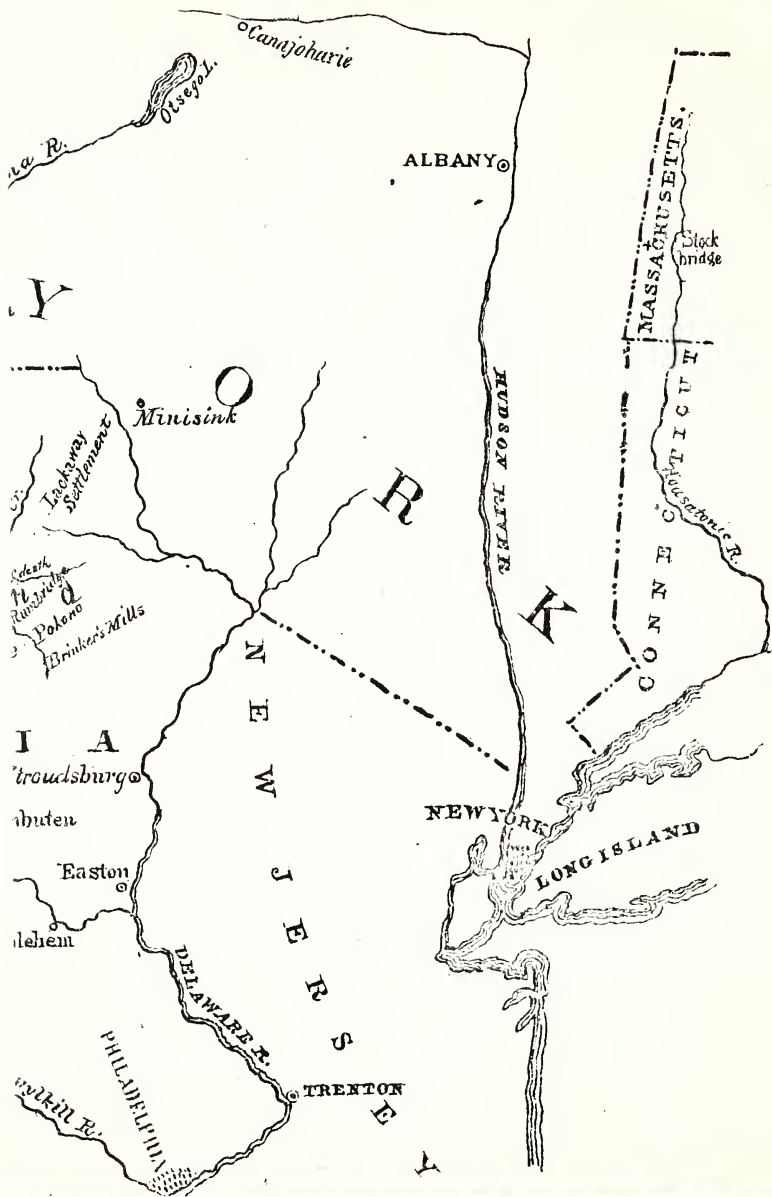
army of three thousand men was gathered at Wyoming, and placed under the command of General John Sullivan. This army was to march northward to Tioga Point, where it was to be joined by another army of one thousand men, which was to march from Canandaigua southwestward, under command of General James Clinton, and to join Sullivan's forces. Inconceivable delay took place of all activity; Sullivan's force left Easton on the 17th of June and reached Tioga Point on the 11th of August, having traversed a distance, according to the diary of Chaplain Rogers, of one hundred and forty-two miles, or thereabouts, and consumed in doing it fifty-six days. Of this long period, thirty-eight days were wasted lying at Wyoming. General Clinton's division meantime idly wasting its time and consuming its provisions at Otsego Lake. All this delay was directly contrary to the repeated instructions of Washington to Sullivan. "Move as light as possible (he wrote) even from the first onset. Should time be lost in transporting the troops or stores, the provisions will be consumed and the whole enterprise may be defeated. Reject every article that can be dispensed

with; this is an extraordinary case and requires extraordinary attention." Notwithstanding these orders great requisitions for supplies were made upon Pennsylvania, and great delay took place in obtaining them. Meantime the active enemy in small bands were scattered over the whole surrounding country, scalping the inhabitants and burning their houses. Near Sunbury, nine persons were thus destroyed. Again at Carn's Tavern, between Wyoming and Easton, a party was captured and some were killed. The massacre at Minisink also occurred. Finally on the 24th of July, General Hand reached Wyoming with one hundred and fourteen boats loaded with supplies, and after a week's further delay the expedition moved. It reached Tioga on the 11th of August, where strong works were erected in a naturally strong position, and here the army waited eleven days for the arrival of General Clinton's division. Finally at eleven o'clock on the 26th, the active movements began. The battle at Newtown occurred on the 29th of August. From that time until September 15th, the time was occupied in laying waste the country and destroying the resources of the Indians.

Immense quantities of corn and other provision were reported as having been destroyed, notwithstanding which it became necessary to place the army on half rations, while the ceremony and delay which preceded every movement seems to be the very reverse of that required in the presence of such subtle and agile enemies as these Indians were known to be. The farthest point to the northwest which the army reached was Genesee Castle and eastwardly to Cayuga Lake. Such is a general outline of the operations as covered by the diary which follows, and to which the reader is referred for more particular accounts.







JOURNAL

OF THE

REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D. D.

BRIGADE CHAPLAIN.

1779.

JOURNAL OF THE REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D.D.

June 15th. Left Philadelphia.¹

June 17th. About 8 o'clock, crossed Easton ferry. Easton is a pretty village, the capital of Northampton county, Pennsylvania. Here I met with a large circle of my military acquaintances of General Poor's²

1. This abrupt beginning is accounted for by the fact that all the chaplain's journals previous to this date were burned to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This statement is made by the editor of the Philadelphia Gazette.

2. Brigadier General Enoch Poor was born at Andover, Massachusetts, 1736. He entered the army immediately after the battle of Lexington, and received the appointment of colonel. He served in the army of the invasion of Canada, and fought in the battles against Burgoyne; after the surrender of the latter Colonel Poor joined the army of Washington, was at Valley Forge and at Monmouth, and in the movements on the Delaware. He was made a brigadier general by Congress in 1777, which appointment so incensed Colonel John Stark, that the latter resigned his position in the army and retired to private life, but Congress six months later appointed Stark a brigadier general, and he re-entered the army. General Poor was killed in a duel with a French officer near Hackensack, New Jersey, September 8, 1780. He served with distinction in many fields, and his commander-in-chief, in announcing his death to Congress, spoke in a spirit of very high commendation.

and Maxwell's¹ brigades. At Colonel Barber's mar-
quee I was introduced to Mr. Kirkland,² a worthy
clergyman who for a number of years past has been
stationed as a missionary among the Indians. The
place of his residence is Stockbridge, Massachu-
setts. I am glad to hear Mr. Kirkland is to go with
us on the secret expedition. Four Stockbridge³ In-
dians are at Easton, who are to act as guides; we

1. Brigadier General William Maxwell is believed to have been born in Ireland, and to have been brought by his parents at a very early age to New Jersey. He entered the army in 1758, and served in the expedition against Ticonderoga. From this time he was in constant service, and by reason of his experience was given a commission as colonel on the breaking out of the Revolutionary war. He served with distinction at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and many other places; was with the army at Valley Forge. He resigned his commission in July, 1780, and retired to private life. Died November 12, 1798.

2. Reverend Samuel Kirkland was born at Norwich, Connecticut, December 1, 1744. He was educated at the school of Rev. E. Wheelock. He learned several Indian languages, and while a missionary among the Indians, was employed by Congress to secure the friendship of the Six Nations. He succeeded with the Oneidas, but not with the other tribes. He served as chaplain in Sullivan's army; was the founder of Hamilton College at Whitestown, New York. In 1789, Congress gave him a tract of land two miles square in the present town of Kirkland, which derives its name from him. His life was written for Spark's American Biography. He died February 28, 1808.—*Drake*.

3. The General Court of Massachusetts granted a township six miles square under the name of Stockbridge, to certain friendly Indians then resident within her western county. These Indians became known as Stockbridge Indians. Missionaries resided among them. They became in a measure civilized and

expect on our march the Oneidas and friendly Tuscaroras to offer us their assistance.

June 18th. All the troops in town prepared for marching. Between 5 and 6 o'clock, left the village with all the pack horses, stores, etc. Halted for breakfast. The army reaching the foot of the Blue Mountains, twelve miles from Easton, encamped for the day. Dr. Kirkland, Dr. Evans and myself passed the mountain at a place called Wind Gap. We rode on seven miles from the camp to Brinker's mills, now known as Sullivan's stores, upon account of a large house built here and a great quantity of provisions being stored therein for the use of the forces under Major General Sullivan's command. At the store we met with Captain Luke Broadhead, who with Captain Patterson attends at this post. On the road from Easton to Sullivan's stores nothing is to be seen, but hills, stones, trees and brush, except-

many became religious. In 1783, many of the families removed into New York, upon lands given them by the Oneidas. Others followed in 1785, and in 1788, all had left. Many prominent men were interested in these people. Of note among such was Jonathan Edwards. Of the four Stockbridge Indians connected with the expedition, three left it at Wyoming. See this Diary, August 11th.

ing here and there a scattered house and a lake near the mountain, half a mile in length and one-fourth of a mile in breadth, wherein abound a variety of fish.

June 19th. At 7 A. M. the troops reached Sullivan's stores. Halted and drew four days' provisions. Doctors Kirkland, Evans, Hunter and myself rode forward about nine miles to a place called Pokono, lower Smithfield township, and put up for the night at the house of a Mr. Savage, which, exclusive of one, is the last house from Easton to Wyoming, the remainder of the way (thirty odd miles) being uninhabited, except by wild beasts and roving animals. On a mountain between Sullivan's stores and Pokono, we had a fine prospect of nature's works. We discovered the water gap of the Blue Mountains, and hill upon hill surrounding us. The troops encamped at Learn's tavern, Pokono point. Pokono lies from Easton north, about two points west.

Sunday, June 20th. Marched this morning in the following order: General Maxwell's brigade in front. Next Colonel Proctor's¹ regiment; then

1. General Thomas Proctor was born in Ireland in 1739. Removed to Phila.

Poor's brigade, afterwards the baggage. Halted at Rum Bridge for the night, six miles from the last inhabited house towards Wyoming. The camp is called Chowder camp, from the commander-in-chief dining this day on chowder made of trout. The artillery soldiers killed two or three rattlesnakes¹ and made, as I understand, a good meal of them. Owing to Pokono mountain and other eminences, found this day's march very fatiguing to the horses belonging to the artillery. Passed a large quantity of pine, poplar, and oak timber, also a

delphia, where he worked at his trade, a carpenter. When the war broke out he entered the Revolutionary army and served with distinction at Brandywine and other places. He was in the artillery. He died March 16, 1806.

1. An instance of the uses of the rattlesnake has been recorded in Stone's *Life of Brant*, v. 2, p. 58, which goes to show that aside from being a good ingredient for soup, the wriggling rascals possess some medicinal properties. Brant had captured Captain Harper, and a party of white men with him, and was marching them to the Indian settlements. Heavily encumbered, their march was very slow, but aside from the baggage, the march was very much retarded by reason of the indisposition of Brant, who, providentially for the prisoners, was attacked with fever and ague, so that every alternate day he was unable to travel. These interruptions gave them time to rest and recruit. Brant wrought his own cure by a truly Indian remedy. Watching upon the southern side of a hill where serpents usually crawl forth in the spring (this was in April, 1780), to bask in the sunbeams, he caught a rattlesnake, which was immediately made into a soup, of which he ate. A speedy cure was the consequence.

quantity of the largest laurel; the ground universally covered with brush by the name of ground oak. No preaching to-day on account of the fatigue of the troops.

Monday, June 21, 1779. This day we marched through the Great Swamp and Bear Swamp. The Great Swamp, which is eleven or twelve miles through, contains what is called in our maps the "shades of death," by reason of its darkness; both swamps contain trees of amazing height, viz., hemlock, birch, pine, sugar maple, ash, locust, etc. The roads in some places are tolerable, but in other places exceedingly bad, by reason of which, and a long though necessary march, three of our wagons and the carriages of two field pieces were broken down. This day we proceeded twenty miles and encamped late in the evening at a spot which the commander named Camp Fatigue. The troops were tired and hungry. The road through the Swamps is entirely new, being fitted for the passage of our wagons by Colonels Courtlandt and Spencer at the instance of the commander-in-chief; the way leading

to Wyoming, being before only a blind narrow path.¹ The new road does its projectors great credit, and must in a future day be of essential service to the inhabitants of Wyoming and Easton. In the Great Swamp is Locust Hill, where we discovered evident marks of a destroyed Indian village. Tobyhanna and Middle creeks empty into the Tunkhanunk; the Tunkhanunk empties into the head branch of the Lehigh, which, at Easton, empties into the Delaware. The Moosick mountain, through a gap of which we passed in the Great Swamp, is the dividing ridge which separates the Delaware from the Susquehannah.

Tuesday, June 22. The army continued at Camp Fatigue until two o'clock, P. M., on account of their great march the preceding day, many of the wagons of the rear guard not getting in until midnight. A bear and a wolf were seen by a New

1. There were three paths, roads they could not be called, leading to Wyoming; the old warrior's path by the way of Leli water Gap and Fort Allen, coming into the valley a mile below Solomon's Creek in Hanover; the path from the Delaware at Coshutunk, which came in through Cob's Gap to the Lackawanna at Capouse meadows, the other from Easton, through the Wind Gap. Miner p. 121-2.

Hampshire sentinel, and several deer by a scouting party, but none were shot. In the forenoon a person arrived who in the month of April last had been taken prisoner near the Minisink by two Tories, two Tuscaroras and seven Delawares; this poor fellow, after being carried through a long tract of country, and experiencing the severest usage in being cruelly tied or bound or otherwise ill-treated, had the good fortune when getting within one day's march of Chemung, to make his escape at night when the Indians were asleep; he was obliged, however, to leave his only son and two other boys behind. In relating this circumstance he was greatly affected. For forty days he was almost destitute of provisions, and eighteen or twenty days without seeing a fire. Rattlesnakes and a few small fish were his support till he reached Wyoming. He seemed very sensible of his providential deliverance, and in relating the matter gave God the praise.

Wednesday, June 23. The troops prepared themselves for Wyoming, from which we were now distant only seven miles. This day we marched with regularity, and at a distance of three miles came to the

place where Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones,¹ with a corporal and four privates were scalped, tomahawked, and speared by the savages, fifteen or twenty in number; two boards are fixed at the spot where Davis and Jones fell, with their names on each, Jones's being besmeared with his own blood. In passing this melancholy vale, an universal gloom appeared on the countenances of both officers and men without distinction, and from the eyes of many, as by a sudden impulse, dropt the sympathizing tear. Colonel Proctor, out of respect to the deceased, ordered the music to play the tune of Roslin Castle, the soft and moving notes of which, together with what so forcibly struck the eye, tended greatly to fill our breasts with pity, and to renew our grief for our worthy departed friends and brethren. The words of the celebrated Young, occurred on this occasion to my mind :

"Life's little stage is a small eminence,
Inch high above the grave, that home of man-
Where dwells the multitude."

1. This murder took place on the 19th of April, 1779. These officers belonged to a regiment which had been ordered to Wyoming. They had reached within ten miles of their destination, and were supposed to be beyond the reach of an

Getting within two miles of Wyoming, we had from a fine eminence an excellent view of the settlement. It is founded on each side of the eastern branch of the Susquehannah, which with the western branch unite at Northumberland, from which place Wilkesbarre,¹ the county town, is distant sixty-five miles. It lies in a beautiful valley, surrounded by very high ground, the people inhabit up and down the banks of the river and very little back. There were in the settlement last summer a court house, a jail, and many dwelling houses, all of which excepting a few scattered ones were burnt by the savages after the battle of July 3, 1778, which took place near Forty Fort.² At present there are a few log

attack. Deer were seen close to the line of march. These two officers with a corporal and guard went out for a deer. The party was fired upon from an ambush within four miles of the fort.

1. The township of Wilkesbarre was surveyed in 1770, and received its name from a combination of the names of John Wilkes and Colonel Barre, who were members of the British Parliament, and prominent advocates for the rights of the American colonies. (Miner p. 142.)

2. Forty Fort was in the township of Kingston, on the west bank of the Susquehannah. Its name probably came from the fact of there having been forty persons in the first company of settlers in the second attempt of the Connecticut people to plant a Colony. It was three miles north from Wilkesbarre.

houses newly built, a fort, one or two stockaded redoubts and a row of barracks; the settlement consists of six or more small townships. At the battle before spoken of about two hundred and twenty were massacred within the space of an hour and a half, more than one hundred of whom were married men; their widows afterwards had all their property taken from them and several of them with their children were made prisoners. It is said Queen Esther,¹ of the Six Nations, who was with the enemy, scalped and tomahawked with her own hands in cool blood eight or ten persons. The Indian women in general were guilty of the greatest barbarities. Since this dreadful stroke they have visited the settlement several times, each time killing, or rather torturing to death, more or less. Many of their bones continue yet unburied where the main action happened. Wyoming² is by Connecticut, styled

1. The dominions of Queen Esther were at Shesequin, a range of country lying near the junction of the Tioga and Susquehanna rivers, but mainly to the southwestward of the Tioga. It was these Indian settlements which had been laid waste in the autumn following the massacre at Wyoming, (1778,) by Colonel Hartley's command. Miner, p. 232.

2. Wyoming was a name properly applied to a beautiful valley, perhaps

Westmoreland county, and has for a long time been under the jurisdiction of that state. How the matter will be settled by them and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, must be determined by those who are better acquainted with the dispute than I am.¹

Thursday, June 24. Was introduced to Colonel Zebulon Butler, the gentleman of whom much has been said on account of his persevering conduct in opposing the savages. Had an interview with Mr. Ludwigg, baker-in-chief for the army, who was sent

twenty miles in length, in which at this period were three principal settlements. Westmoreland county was more properly applied to the whole eastern end of the tract claimed by Connecticut.

1. This dispute between Pennsylvania and Connecticut in regard to jurisdiction lasted many years. During a portion of these years, actual civil war existed, many lives were lost and much property destroyed. The difficulties were finally settled by litigation. A court comprised of the following gentlemen, Hon. William Whipple of New Hampshire, Welcome Arnold of Rhode Island, David Brearly and William C. Houston of New Jersey, and Cyrus Griffin of Virginia, was convened at Trenton, New Jersey, November 12, 1782. The court continued its sittings until December 30th, when the following judgment was rendered: "We are unanimously of opinion that the State of Connecticut has no right to the lands in controversy. We are also unanimously of opinion that the jurisdiction and pre-emption of all the territory lying within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania, and now claimed by the State of Connecticut, do of right belong to the State of Pennsylvania." This is the entire decree and is signed by the five judges above mentioned. A detailed history of these troubles finds properly no place in these notes, but for such the reader is referred to Miner's History, an accurate and reliable work.

on from Easton to this post, to prepare bread for the troops; owing to his *activity*, a bake-house was built in eleven days, and a large quantity of bread was in readiness for delivery on our arrival. An inhabitant showed me an Indian weapon called a death mall. The handle was unwieldy, the ball about the bigness of a three pounder, curiously cut out of a maple knot. The use of this instrument is to knock people on the scull with, when overtaken in a chase. Being Saint John's day, a number of Freemasons met at Colonel Proctor's marquee; at his request (though not one of the fraternity myself)¹ read for them the Rev. Dr. Smith's excellent sermon on Masonry.

Saturday, June 26. Between ten and eleven o'clock last night there was a small alarm; two Indians were discovered advancing towards some of our sentries. The sentinels fired on them, but the savages escaped. Captain Jehoiakim with two other Stockbridge Indians and five soldiers of Colonel

1. Mr. Guild, in his *Manning and Brown University*, p. 93, says he was "an honored member of the fraternity and frequently delivered addresses before them." If that was the case he must have taken his degrees subsequent to this period.

Cilley's¹ regiment were sent out on a scout. Dined with the officers of artillery.

A rock² (sic) which was caught the preceding evening, on the table, which measured two feet nine inches and weighed twenty-seven pounds.

Sunday, June 27. Agreeably to yesterday's orders, preached at ten o'clock, A. M., near the fort,³ to General Hand's⁴ brigade and Colonel Proctor's

1. Colonel Joseph Cilley was born in New Hampshire in 1735. Immediately after the battle of Lexington, he entered the Revolutionary Army and fought bravely at Ticonderoga, Bemis Heights, Stony Point, Monmouth, and in Sullivan's Expedition. After the war Colonel Cilley returned to his native State, where he held many civil offices. He died August, 1799.

2. Probably a bass, one of the species of fish with which the river was abundantly supplied.

3. These forts were simply stockades or enclosures, protected by logs planted upright in the earth and from twelve to fifteen feet in height. They were used in times of danger as safe places of retreat for women and children.

4. General Edward Hand was born in Ireland, December 31, 1744. In 1774 he accompanied the Eighteenth Royal Irish regiment to America as Surgeon's mate; resigned, settled in Pennsylvania, to practice his profession; served with distinction at the battle of Long Island, and at Trenton. Succeeded General Stark, in command at Albany in 1778. After the war he held offices of civil trust, member of the old Congress, and a signer of the Pennsylvania Constitution in 1790. In 1798, recommended by Washington for position of Adjutant General. He was a fine horseman. In Sullivan's Expedition he rode a fine active grey horse, but on parade his favorite was a sorrel roan, remarkable for lofty carriage and spirited action. This horse on the return of the army to Tioga, after the battle, was sent with a servant to Colonel Butler

regiment; General Sullivan with his suite were present. Captain Jehoiakim returned; he met with no success. This day, with the three preceding, exceedingly sultry.

Monday, June 28, P. M. News arrived of a family near Carn's Tavern, between this and Easton, being part of them killed, and part of them taken prisoners by the savages.¹

Tuesday, June 29. Early this morning the account we had yesterday was confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Steel, D. C. G.² of issues, who says that of the family, three women were carried off, and that a son of Dr. Ledlies was scalped and tomahawked. The few scattered inhabitants were in great distress, moving for safety to Sullivan's Stores, leaving the principal part of their property behind them. Upwards of thirty boats loaded with provisions arrived this day from Sunbury.³ Orders came out for the

at Wyoming, to be recruited in time for his return. Died at Rockland, Pennsylvania, September 3, 1802. (Drake and Miner.)

1. By reference to the map, this locality will be seen to have been far in the rear of Sullivan's army. Subsequent notes still further illustrate the active operations of Sullivan's enemies, and the inactivity of his army.

2. D. C. G.: Abbreviation for Deputy Commissary General.

3. Colonel Charles Stewart was in 1769, Deputy Surveyor-General of the

execution of Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury, in the following words: "The sentence of death passed upon Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury by the court martial, whereof Brigadier General Maxwell was president, and approved of by the Commander-in-chief at Easton in the orders of the sixth instant, is directed to be executed upon the said Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury, the day after tomorrow in the afternoon, between the hours of two and four o'clock." The orders of the sixth instant referred to, are: "Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury, inhabitants of Sussex county, State of New Jersey, being tried by a general court martial, held at Easton, on the third instant, of which Brigadier General Maxwell was president, for enticing soldiers of the American army to desert to the enemy, and engaging their assistance for that purpose, the court are of opinion,

Province of Pennsylvania, by him the valley was divided and laid out into two manors, that portion of it lying upon the eastern side, including the Indian town of Wyoming, being called the manor of Stoke, and the western division the manor of Sunbury. At the time of the massacre, Sunbury was the nearest inhabited post down the Susquehannah, some sixty miles. "Stone's History Wyoming," pp. 162, 198.

they are guilty of the charges exhibited, and do unanimously sentence them to suffer death. The Commander-in-chief approves the sentence of the court, but postpones the execution of it for a few days. He at the same time returns his thanks to Lieutenant McConnell, and the other evidences, for their zeal and address in detecting the offenders. P. M.—Mr. Kirkland accompanied me in paying these two unfortunate men a visit; found them ignorant and stupid. Our endeavors were upon this occasion to open unto them the nature of man's fall, and the dreadful situation of those who died in a state of impenitency and unbelief.

Wednesday, June 30. We went to see the prisoners; Miller appeared much softened, distressed, and anxious about his future state; Rosebury said but little; I enlarged particularly at this time on their awful condition by nature and practice, their amazing guilt in the sight of an holy God; the spirituality of the divine law; the necessity of an interest in Jesus Christ; their own inability to obtain salvation, and the great importance of a due preparation for another world.

Thursday, July 1. Before breakfast visited the convicts; spoke to them on the realities of heaven and hell, and the justice and mercy of God; Miller appeared still more penitent, and freely confessed the sentence of death passed against him to be just. The other excused himself and insisted much on the innocency of his life. Mr. Kirkland and myself waited on the Commander-in-chief, in order to recommend Miller to mercy. His Excellency was so obliging as to inform us that it was his purpose, upon account of Miller's wife and numerous family, his decent behavior on trial, the recommendation of the court and former good character, to pardon him under the gallows, fifteen minutes after the execution of Rosebury; and requested that it might remain a secret with us until it was publicly known. P. M.—At the hour appointed the prisoners were taken under guard to the place of execution, attended by Messrs. Kirkland, Hunter and myself. In walking to the gallows we of course conversed with them on the most serious subjects. Upon arriving there, the military being under arms, and a number of the inhabitants present, it fell to my lot to

address the spectators, after which Mr. Kirkland prayed. Rosebury was then turned off; he died to all appearance the same stupid man he was at the first of our visiting him. Poor Miller was much agitated at the sight, expecting every moment the same punishment. He was employed in commending himself to God—upon hearing his pardon from the commander-in-chief read, he was greatly affected. On recovering himself he expressed the utmost thankfulness for his great deliverance. The scene throughout was very affecting.

Friday, July 2, P. M. An experiment by the General's permission, was made by Colonel Proctor, with a grasshopper on board of one of the batteaux, with a view of trying the nature of shot on the water should it be necessary when going up the river. Four rounds of canister and eight of round, were discharged, which fully proved the utility of the plan; it plainly appearing that the enemy's force, consisting of the greatest number of boats, would be hereby totally frustrated in their design of impeding our progress. The sight was extremely gratifying. Notwithstanding the axletree of the cannon on which

the grasshopper was mounted was as wide as the batteau, yet the batteau was not in the least injured by the experiment.

Sunday, July 4. Ten o'clock. Preached to the brigade and regiment of artillery; being the anniversary of the declaration of American Independence, took notice of the same in my sermon. Text, Psalm 32:10, "But he that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall encompass him about." The discourse was concluded nearly as follows: Politically as a nation are we exhorted to trust in the Lord. God hath hitherto blessed our arms and smiled on our infant rising states. Recollect, my brethren, the commencement of our bloody contest; pursue in your minds the difficulties we already have had to encounter. Be not ye afraid of the insolent foe. "Remember Jehovah, who is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses." Provided we fear God and are publicly as well as individually honest; what have we now to alarm us? American exertions have hitherto been crowned with success; let us still under the banners of liberty, and with a Washing-

ton for our head, go on from conquering to conquer. Hark! what voice is that which I hear? It is the voice of encouragement; permit me for your animation to repeat it distinctly: "Our fathers trusted and the Lord did deliver them; they cried unto Him and were delivered; they trusted in Him and were not confounded." Even so may it be with us, for the sake of Christ Jesus, who came to give Freedom to the world.

Monday, July 5th. An Express arrived from Sunbury, announcing the destruction of nine persons out of twelve, by the savages at Munsey, as they were working in a field. Took a view of the remains of Forty Fort. At General Poor's, where a large party dined to-day, two skulls were shown us which were picked up near the field of battle, and with a variety of other human bones had lain unburied for twelve months past. From the appearance of the skulls which were most shockingly gashed and bruised, it is evident that the poor creatures must have suffered amazingly. Towards evening two soldiers reported that they saw four Indians about three-quarters of a mile from General Poor's

encampment. Two small parties were sent out to make discoveries.

Wednesday, July 7th. A soldier of Colonel Shreeve's regiment going out a hunting, after getting about three miles espied an Indian. The Indian being on the opposite side of a deep run fired on him and shot the sleeve of his coat. The soldier having run a small distance, looking behind, and saw two other savages who had joined the first; he then retreated in haste to the camp and reported the occurrence to the General. In consequence of which three parties were ordered to be in readiness on the ensuing morning to scout different ways.

Thursday, July 8th, A. M. Generals Hand and Maxwell, Colonels Proctor, Butler and Shreeve, with a number of other gentlemen, agreeably to proposal, rode up to Colonel Courtlandts, where, being joined by him, General Poor, Major Fisk and others, and having the benefit of a proper escort of light infantry, we proceeded up the river four miles further to take a view of the noted place where the battle¹ was fought July 3, 1778, between Colonel

1. The battle referred to is known in history as the Massacre of Wyoming.

Butler,¹ with his Tories and savages on one side, five hundred in number, and our Colonel Butler,² on the other, with three hundred of the inhabitants, who had formed themselves into militia companies, having nothing but bad muskets without bayonets. Our people, sallying out of Forty Fort, proceeded to Wintermute's Fort, where the enemy, forming their left and extending their right quite to a swamp, were prepared to receive the defenders of their country. Our Colonel Butler, having judiciously drawn up his men in line of battle to oppose the barbarians, a severe firing ensued; six or seven rounds were in

1. Colonel John Butler was the commander of British Rangers and Indians. Drake says he was born in Connecticut, and died at Niagara, 1794. Stone, in his History of Wyoming, says he was an opulent gentleman, residing in the Mohawk Valley, a neighbor and personal friend of Sir William Johnson. It was his misfortune to be engaged in a branch of the service which has covered his name in history with anything but honor. *Poetry and History of Wyoming*, p. 245.

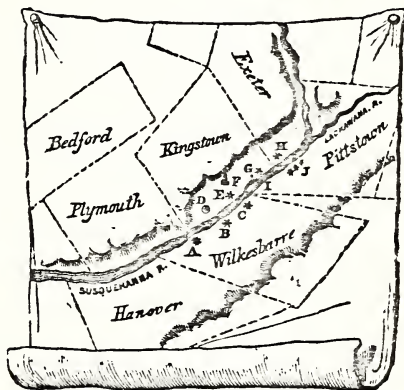
2. Colonel Zebulon Butler commanded the Wyoming settlers. He was a native of Connecticut, having been born in Lyme, in 1731. He removed to Wyoming, in 1769, and there settled, and from that time seems to have taken an active part in the management of affairs. He served through the war and with distinction. He died at Wilkesbarre in 1795. Miner gives it as his opinion that these two commanders were both descended from the same family, having descended from some of the younger branches of the family of the Duke of Ormond, whose name was Butler. *Miner*, p. 236.

a few moments discharged on both sides, when the enemy's centre, fallen a few paces back and a part of their right filing off, our people supposing that they had an intention of surrounding them, instantly got confused and notwithstanding the spirited exertions of their Colonel, a retreat took place and ended in a general rout, which gave rise to a most horrid scene of butchery. Out of our party only one hundred escaped; among these was Colonel Butler. From many circumstances it appeared Wintermute's¹ Fort proved treacherous, old Mr. Wintermute with all his

1. Wintermute's Fort was but a mile below Fort Jenkins, which was the uppermost Fort within the valley of Wyoming. In regard to the treachery of the Wintermutes, Miner relates that on the 30th of June, 1778, a party of eight men from Fort Jenkins were attacked while in the field. Four were killed, three were captured, one escaped. The next day Colonel Zebulon Butler marched to repel the assailants. As soon as he had returned Colonel John Butler with his Rangers and Indians, passing through a notch in the mountains, took possession of the Fort without opposition. Mr. Daniel Ingersoll, who was present, on learning the approach of the enemy, began to prepare for resistance, and his wife seized a pitchfork to aid, but the Wintermutes gave them to understand Colonel Butler would be at home there, and Ingersoll found himself a prisoner. This Fort, beautifully situated on the upper river flat, from which gushed an abundant spring of pure water, was admirably calculated for the convenience of the enemy for whose special purpose it was erected. Fort Jenkins had been built a mile above Wintermute's, for the purpose of counteracting the latter as far as possible. This had been done by direction of the Town Meeting. Miner, p. 191, 218.

sons and about twenty-five others who composed the garrison, having on the enemy's approach delivered up the fort, without the least opposition, the major part of whom immediately joined the enemy and took up arms against their friends. Moreover it was alleged that they corresponded with the enemy many months before.

The place where the battle was fought may with propriety be called "a place of skulls," as the bodies of the slain were not buried, their bones were scattered in every direction all around; a great number of which for a few days past having been



POSITION OF THE WYOMING FORTS.

A marks the site of Fort Durkee; *B*, Wyoming or Wilkesbarre Fort; *C*, Fort Ogden; *D*, Village of Kingston; *E*, Forty Fort. [This, in the early histories of the Revolution, is called Kingston Fort.] *F*, the battle-ground; *G*, Winternute's Fort; *H*, Fort Jenkins; *I*, Monocacy island; *J*, the three Pittstown stockades. The dot below the *G* marks the place of Queen Esther's Rock.

picked up, were decently interred by our people. We passed a grave where seventy-five¹ skeletons were buried; also a spot where fourteen wretched creatures, who, having surrendered upon being promised mercy, were nevertheless made immediately to sit down in a ring, and after the savages had worked themselves up to the extreme of fury in their usual manner, by dancing, singing, halloaing, etc., they proceeded deliberately to tomahawk the poor fellows one after another. Fifteen surrendered and composed the ring. Upon the Indians beginning their work of cruelty, one of them providentially escaped, who reported the matter to Colonel Butler, who upon his return to Wyoming, went to the spot and found the bones of the fourteen lying as human bodies in an exact circle. It is remarkable, that on this spot grows a kind of grass different from all other grass around it. The bones of seven or eight other persons were found nearly con-

1. There were ninety-six men buried in this grave, a party under command of Lieutenant John Jenkins, was detailed October 21, 1778, to gather and bury the dead, which service was immediately performed. Here they lay undisturbed until July 4, 1832, when their bones were exhumed to lay the foundation for the monument which now stands on the spot. Jenkins's Address, p. 62.

sumed, they having been burned to death. Colonel Butler related the following occurrence. On a small island in the Susquehannah below the field of action, Giles Slocum,¹ having reached thus far in safety,

1. Giles Slocum was the son of Jonathan Slocum, who emigrated from Warwick, Rhode Island, to Wyoming in 1777, with his wife and nine children. Mr. Slocum was a Quaker, whose kind benevolence towards the Indians had won their respect, but learning that his son Giles had been engaged in the battle, the Indians marked the family for vengeance. On the 2d of November they fell upon the family, killed some and carried others into captivity. Of one, Frances Slocum, a little girl five years old, we gather the following romantic story from the histories. An Indian had seized a little boy, Ebenezer Slocum, to carry him away when Mrs. Slocum stepping up said, "He can do you no good; see, he is lame." With a grim smile the Indian released the boy, and taking Frances, the little girl, in his arms, and leading by the hand a boy by the name of Kingsley, he hurried away to the woods. After the war was over, Mrs. Slocum, always strongly believing in the fact that Frances was still alive, made unremitting search for her. Her brothers made many and long journeys among the Indians, and offered them large rewards to discover her whereabouts, all of which were unavailing. Mrs. Slocum lived to a great age, always possessed with the belief that Frances was yet alive, but she finally died without finding her. It was in 1837, fifty-nine years after the captivity of the child, that an article appeared in the Lancaster Intelligencer in the following words: "There is now living near this place among the Miami tribe of Indians, an aged white woman, who a few days ago told me that she was taken away from her father's house on or near the Susquehannah river, when she was very young. She says her father's name was Slocum, that he was a Quaker and wore a large brimmed hat, that he lived about half a mile from a town, where there was a fort. She has two daughters living. Her husband is dead, she is old and feeble and thinks she shall not live long. These considerations induced her to give the present history of herself, which she never would before, fearing her kindred

concealed himself in the bushes, where he was witness to the meeting of John and Henry Pensell, brothers. John was a Tory and Henry was a whig. Henry, having lost his gun, upon seeing his brother

would come and force her away. She has lived long and happy as an Indian, is very respectable, wealthy, sober and honest. Her name is without reproach." This letter was written by G. W. Ewing, in 1835, but it did not reach the quiet valley of Wyoming, for nearly two years later. Joseph Slocum, a brother, immediately went to identify his long lost sister. On his way he visited another brother, Isaac, living in Ohio, and together they started for Logansport, Indiana, near which place the Indian woman lived. Here they found the writer of the letter, and word was sent to the supposed Frances, who soon appeared in the village mounted on a fine horse and accompanied by two daughters elegantly dressed in Indian costume. One of the daughters was accompanied by her husband. The manners of the supposed Frances were dignified and reserved. She heard through an interpreter what the Slocums had to say, and night coming on she returned to her home, promising to return the following morning. At the appointed time she rode up as before, alighted, greeting them with more of frankness than before, and seemed desirous of learning further of them. Joseph at length said, that their sister at play in their father's smith shop with the children, had received a blow on the middle finger of the left hand by a hammer on an anvil which crushed the bone. Instantly her countenance lighted up with smiles, tears ran down her cheeks as she held up her wounded hand. She was the long lost Frances. She then told her brothers of the leading events of her life and the story of her capture. She was carried to a rocky cave in the mountains where were blankets and a bed of dried leaves. Here they first rested previous to their long journey. She had been treated very kindly, the Indian carrying her in his arms when she was tired. In this way they finally reached the Indian Village, was adopted into the Indian's family, and was brought up as a daughter, but with more than common tenderness. The boy Kingsley, carried off at the

John, fell upon his knees and begged him to spare his life; upon which John called him a damned rebel. John then went deliberately to a log, got on the same, and began to load his piece, while Henry was upon his knees imploring him as a brother not to kill him. "I will," said he, "go with you and serve you as long as I live, if you will spare my life." John loaded his gun. Henry continued, "You won't kill your brother, will you?" "Yes," replied the monster, "I will as soon as look at you, you are a damned

same time, was stationed near her, but in a few years he died. She had barely reached womanhood when her Indian parents died. She loved them very much and sincerely mourned their departure. Soon after she married a young chief who treated her with respect, and imposed upon her few of the burdens usually borne by Indian women. So happily did she live in this manner, that the fear of being discovered by her relations and forced to return and live with the white people was looked upon by her as a misfortune greatly to be dreaded. Her husband died and she again married, but her second husband dying, she had for many years remained a widow. Her brothers visited her home, where everything bore the appearance of rude abundance. Numbers of horses and cattle grazed in her fields, while well baked cakes of flour, nicely cooked venison and honey graced her table. As a token of entire confidence being established, Frances placed a piece of venison beneath a snow white cloth. One of the brothers lifted it up, and this was regarded as a formal covenant of recognition and affection. At a later period other members of her family visited her. When the Indians were removed from this region, Congress passed an act exempting Frances and her family from its operation. Her Indian name was Ma-con-a-quah, a young bear. She died at her home in Indiana, March 9th, 1847. Several accounts of her have been published.

rebel." He then shot him and afterwards went up and struck him four or five times with a tomahawk and scalped him. Immediately after one of the enemy coming to him said, "What have you been doing, have you killed your brother?" "Yes," said he, "for he was a damned rebel." The other replied, "I have a great mind to serve you in the same manner." They went off together.¹ In the evening,

1. Peck, in his History of Wyoming, gives this name as Pencil. It also appears in the same form on the following document:

This terrible story practically as herein related has found its way into most of the histories of these events, but the following document from the State Department of Connecticut, at Hartford, document 133, as reprinted in Jenkins' Historical Address at Wilkesbarre, 1878, p. 60, seems a complete refutation.

To the Honorable General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, or in their recess to his Excellency the Governor and Council of Safety of said State:

The memorial of the subscribers sheweth, that your Honors' memorialists enlisted into the service of this State in ye Continental army under Captains Strong and Judd, in ye year 1777; that we cheerfully went out into ye service of our country, leaving our families in this town, and that in ye year 1778, the enemy destroyed this place as your Honors well know, but by the special favor of his Excellency General Washington, we have since that time been continued here where we have done duty under ye command of Captain Simon Spalding, who is now by a late resolve of ye Continental Congress, ordered to leave this garrison where some of our families are, and all of us are inhabitants of this town, which is a frontier, and are daily exposed to ye ravages of ye enemy, where our families must either be left or removed out of ye country or camp. Wherefore your Honors' memorialists humbly beg leave to lay this

Slocum made his escape. Slocum is a man of reputation, and his word was never disputed in the neighborhood where he is known. The family of the Pensells came from lower Smithfield on the Delaware, twenty miles above Easton. Henry's widow and seven children are still at Wyoming, in very low circumstances. From the best intelligence collected, between seventy and eighty of the butchering foe

our state and condition before your Honors, that your Honors in your great goodness will order that we may be discharged from our enlistment, that we may without expense to the State, support our families, and that in wisdom your Honors interpose in our behalf, or some way grant relief and we, as in duty bound will ever pray.

JOHN RYON,

LEMUEL WHITMAN,

JOHN JACKSON,

JOHN OAKLEY,

JOHN PLATMORE,

JOHN PENCIL.

Westmoreland, ye 23d day of January, 1781.

Endorsed:

The within is a true representation of facts, and we the subscribers, beg leave to request your Honors that this memorial may be granted, as these men are good inhabitants, being industrious men and much wanted in this exposed part of ye country, and serve to strengthen ye particular interest of this State, for if this town be not again destroyed by ye enemy we hope, in a few years, to be able to throw a considerable sum of cash into ye treasury of this State, and to make some returns for your Honors' great goodness in granting so many of our requests. And your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Westmoreland,
23rd January, 1781.

JOHN HULBUT, }
JAMES NESBIT, } Selectmen.
JABEZ SILL, }

Signed at the particular request of ye inhabitants.

were killed. Colonel Denison,¹ retreated to Forty Fort that night, next day capitulated. The savages, notwithstanding the capitulation, plundered the inhabitants of everything that came in their way; sparing neither woman nor child.² Good God! who, after such repeated instances of cruelty, can ever be totally reconciled to that government which, divesting itself of the feelings of humanity, has influenced the savage tribes to kill and wretchedly to torture to death, persons of each sex and of every age—the prattling infant, the blooming maid and persons of venerable years, have alike fallen victims to its vin-

1. After the massacre, the few remaining soldiers were gathered into Forty Fort, which was the largest in the Valley. In the hurry and confusion no provisions were secured, and surrender was the only alternative. Colonel Zebulon Butler, who commanded the Americans, determined under the circumstances to escape, which he did, leaving the fort under the command of Colonel Nathan Denison, who on the following day surrendered. In the terms of capitulation between Colonel John Butler and Colonel Denison, the name of the latter as given by Miner, is Denniston.

2. How quickly the settlement recovered from this calamity may be seen by the following statements made in 1797: "Since that disaster and under many extremely discouraging casualties, the settlement has increased so greatly as to contain about twelve thousand people. * * * In 1788, a lot of three acres and a half in the town of Wilkesbarre, was sold for fifty dollars. Last winter (1796) one half of that lot, or one acre and three-fourths of ground, was purchased for one hundred and thirty pounds." American Annual Register, 1796, p. 21.

dictive rage. On the road to Wintermute's fort, we took notice of very high Timothy grass. The earth in general is very rich, the whole settlement from its appearance is capable of producing the finest wheat, and every other kind of grain.

Friday, July 9th. Upwards of fifty boats arrived from Sunbury, loaded with stores and guarded by the Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment, commanded by Colonel Hubley.¹ The small boats, being unloaded, set off again under the directions of Captain Cummings, to proceed down the Susquehannah for further necessities.

Saturday, July 10th. Early this morning General Hand with his aid-de-camp, escorted by a company of light horse, set out for Harris's ferry, one hundred and thirty miles distant, in order to hurry on provisions, the detention of which, owing to the unaccountable neglect of those who have the superintendence of the same, has occasioned the army to continue at this post for such a length of time, and

1. Lieutenant Colonel Adam Hubley commanded a Pennsylvania regiment, which formed a portion of the brigade commanded by General Hand in this expedition. Colonel Hubley kept a journal during the expedition, which was appended by Miner to his History of Wyoming.

bids fair, without the spirited exertions of some superior officer, to prevent in a great measure our accomplishing the desirable end in view. Colonel Dayton,¹ returning from New Jersey, brought with him several newspapers, the perusal of which was a great refreshment after such a long political drouth. Colonel Read's² regiment of General Poor's Brigade marched to Sullivan's Stores, with a view of mending the roads and escorting the wagons which are to come on from thence and Easton. An experiment was made towards evening on board of a batteau, by discharging several shells from a five and one half inch howitzer. It appeared that great benefit may be derived therefrom, without the least injury befalling the batteau. One of the shells was thrown nine hundred yards, and upon its bursting exhibited to the spectators a pleasing sight.

1. Colonel Elias Dayton was born in New Jersey in 1735. He was under Wolfe at Quebec, was one of the committee of safety at the opening of the revolution. Made a Colonel and fought in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Springfield, and at the siege of Yorktown. Was made Brigadier General in 1783. Member of Congress, 1787-8. Died July 1807.—*Drake.*

2. Colonel Sylvester Reed was the son of General James Reed. Both father and son served with honor through the Revolution. They belonged in Massachusetts. Colonel Reed died 1798.

Sunday, July 11th. Raining all day, which prevented the chaplains from officiating. A letter was received by express from General Clinton,¹ dated head of Lake Oswego, announcing that twenty-five Oneida warriors had joined him, and that the hostile Indians were collecting together in their own country, where they meant to oppose us; also that a detachment of three hundred had been sent out to distress and harass our army as much as possible on the march.

Monday, July 12th. In consequence of the above intelligence, one hundred and fifty men with a field piece were ordered to reinforce Colonel Read.

Tuesday, July 13th. A letter was received at headquarters the preceding evening from General Hand, requesting that the large batteaux might be

1. General James Clinton, born August 9, 1736, distinguished himself in the French war of 1756, particularly at the capture of Fort Frontenac. At the commencement of the Revolution he was appointed Colonel in one of the New York Regiments, was with Montgomery at Quebec, defended Fort Clinton in 1777, but unsuccessfully. He with an army of sixteen hundred men wintered on the Mohawk river, and passed down to the head waters of the Susquehanna river at Otsego lake, and there built two hundred batteaux. Having dammed up the outlet he created an artificial freshet on which he and his army were floated down an hundred miles. Died December 22, 1812. (Miner and Drake.)

sent down the river, as the boats there were not sufficient. They were accordingly sent away this morning under the direction of Major Conway, with a detachment of infantry and Captain Rice, of the artillery, with two field pieces and an howitzer.

Wednesday, July 14th. Last night thirty-three¹ of the German regiment deserted under the plea of their time being out. They went off properly armed with drum and fife. Their route being discovered by a friendly Indian, who was dispatched for the purpose, a detachment of fifty soldiers on horseback were ordered to pursue them.

Friday, July 16th. News arrived of the detachment having taken all the deserters except four or five.

Saturday, July 17th. We learnt that the Indians had been committing some outrages on the western branches of the Susquehannah.

1. From some cause unexplained a large number of the German battalion became disaffected and deserted. They were arrested, tried and condemned. After being held some time in confinement they united in a petition that their lives might be spared. A board of officers recommended them to mercy, and the inhabitants of the settlement and the army were gratified with the pardon of the whole, who returned cheerfully to duty and conducted themselves thenceforward with unexceptionable propriety. Miner, p. 267.

Sunday, July 18th. A scouting party, consisting of a few soldiers and the four Stockbridge Indians, returned. They proceeded as far as Wyoming, discovered many tracks, but saw none of the enemy.

Monday, July 19th. Colonel Cowperthwaite arrived from Philadelphia. On his way he inspected the provisions at Sullivan's Stores. If those on the way from Sunbury should not turn out better, of which he was fearful, our expedition must be attended with many inconveniences. Mr. Bond also got in with a number of horses for the army. Likewise a party with twenty-nine of the German deserters, four being yet missing.

Tuesday, July 20th. Accounts are received of the enemy's plundering New Haven, burning Fairfield,¹ and committing many other outrages in Connecticut.

Wednesday, July 21st. This morning an express arrived with the following glorious intelligence from the main army. That on Thursday night last, Gen-

1. This was an expedition sent by the British to destroy the towns in Connecticut on Long Island Sound. It was under the command of Tryon. On the 5th July it assaulted New Haven, on the 7th Fairfield, and on the 11th Norwalk.

eral Wayne with part of his light infantry, surprised and took the whole of the garrison of Stony Point, with all their stores, mortars, howitzers, tents, baggage, etc., without the loss of more than four or five privates. The garrison consisting of English, Scotch, and new levies, with two or three companies of grenadiers, besides artillery, in the whole about six hundred men. In the evening a number of wagons from Easton arrived loaded with stores, also an express who had a letter from Colonel Strand to some militia captain dated this morning, two o'clock, informing that a number of Indians were at Minisink¹ plundering and murdering the inhabitants; the colonel writes to the captain for assistance, as he expected they would in the course of the day be at or near his house, as they were bending their course that way.

Saturday, July 24th. General Hand arrived with one hundred and twelve loaded boats. On the river

1. Minisink settlement was in Orange County, New York. Brant with a party of warriors had fallen upon the settlement, killing several of the inhabitants and burning several houses and barns. A party of militia, a hundred and fifty in number, marched in pursuit. Brant laid an ambush for them, into which they fell, and left a hundred dead. Miner p. 266.

they appeared beautiful as they approached the village in proper divisions. Those with field pieces on board discharged several rounds for joy, which in the surrounding woods produced a pleasing echo. The Commander-in-Chief in public orders returned his cordial thanks to General Hand, Major Conway, Captains Rice and Porter, and others for their great exertions in thus bringing forward the stores of the army with such expedition. Also expressed his grateful acknowledgments to Commanding General Steele¹ for his attention and activity in the business. The troops were directed to be in readiness to march on Wednesday morning next. The deserters from the German regiment, having been tried by a general court martial whereof General Poor was President, having been found guilty, were sentenced as follows, viz.: five to be shot, two corporals to be reduced to the ranks, and the remaining twenty-two to run the gauntlet² through General Maxwell's and

1. General John Steele was born at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1758. He was a captain through the Revolutionary war, served at Brandywine and at Yorktown, was a commissioner to settle the Wyoming difficulties. In 1780 commanded Washington's Life Guard. He died February 27, 1827. Drake.

2. This punishment was doubtless borrowed from their enemies. Running the gauntlet, or rather compelling their prisoners to run it was a general cus-

General Hand's brigades and the regiment of artillery; the respective punishments to take place on Monday next at four P. M.

Sunday, July 25th. No preaching, it being a very rainy day. P. M.—Visited the criminals. The whole appeared attentive to what was said, but very ignorant of those things which appertain to religion. In the orders issued this day is laid down the line of march for the army from this place to Tioga. General Hand's brigade, which is to be considered as the light corps, is to move in three columns and keep something less than a mile in advance of the main body. General Maxwell will advance by his left, then General Poor by his right, the flank guard on the right to consist of a field officer and two hundred men in two divisions, the flank guard on the left to

tom among the Indians. It was not always severe nor even generally so, unless in cases of prisoners who had excited the special animosity of the Indians. Much depended on the courage and presence of mind of the prisoner. On entering the village or camp he was shown a post at a distance of thirty or forty yards, and directed to run to it. His path lies between two parallel lines of people—men, women, children—armed with hatchets, knives, sticks and other offensive weapons, and as he passed along each was at liberty to strike him as severely and as frequently as he could. Stone's *Life of Brant*, vol. 2, p. 62. Heckewelder relates his witnessing such an event, and those familiar with the life of General John Stark, will recall his success under one of these sentences.

consist of a captain and sixty men in two divisions. The pack horses and cattle to follow in the rear of General Poor's brigade. The rear guard will consist of a regiment complete, taken alternately from Maxwell's and Poor's brigades. Those of Colonel Proctor's regiment who are not required with the artillery in the boats are to march in the rear of Maxwell's brigade and form on his right. The main army will keep as nearly abreast of the boats as possible; the horns in the boats must be frequently sounded to give notice of their situation. A captain and sixty men will advance a mile in front of the boats on the west side of the river to scour the country and give notice of ambuscades. In case of their being attacked by a superior force they are to retreat across the river, for which purpose four light boats will keep ahead of the fleet, nearly abreast of the party, to transport them across the river in case of necessity; in these boats there will be a trusty officer and twelve armed soldiers, who are to be answerable for their conduct. Colonel Proctor will take part with his pieces of artillery, which will be fixed in the boats and have the direction of the whole

fleet, he will take such officers and men with him as he shall find necessary. When a warm firing commences against the light party on the west side of the river the armed boats will immediately proceed to the place to cover the party by their fire.

Should a firing begin with the main army, Colonel Proctor will wait for orders; he is also directed to establish signals to notify the fleet how to conduct in case of attack or other emergencies. The brigadiers must see that a covered wagon be filled with ammunition and put into proper boats for their respective brigades.

Monday, July 26th. Visited the criminals, found them greatly dejected on account of their approaching dissolution; orders were issued that by reason of the unsettled state of the weather their execution be postponed until to-morrow. P. M., 5 o'clock. Read a Philadelphia paper giving a particular account of the enemy's burning Norwalk,¹ the Saw Pitts, etc.

Tuesday, July 27th. Visited the convicts twice; in discussing with them upon a future state they appeared much affected and very penitent — repre-

1. See note on page 63.

sented their situation to General Sullivan, who told me that in consequence of a petition received from them he had ordered a board of general officers to sit. On the issuing of this day's orders the following sentence was read with pleasure by myself and the other chaplains: "The Commander-in-Chief having received a petition from the prisoners of the German battalion now under sentence, manifesting their consciousness of the crimes for which they have been condemned, and promising in case of pardon to distinguish themselves in future as brave and obedient soldiers, which petition being laid before a board of general officers in hopes that an act of lenity may have a proper effect on their future conduct as well as that of others, they have unanimously advised a pardon of all the offenders without discrimination. The General, wishing to extend mercy where it can be done without injury to the public service, has accordingly consented to pardon each and every one of the offenders tried and sentenced by a general court martial, whereof Brigadier General Poor was president, and directs that they be immediately released and restored to their duty. Lest this

unparalleled act of lenity should be abused, and any soldier take the same unjustifiable measures hereafter, the Commander-in-Chief absolutely declares he will not in future pardon a deserter, or one who, though his time be expired, shall quit his corps without a proper discharge from his commanding officer." Instantly after the above was made known to the criminals, I called in to see them, and found them calm, composed and thankful; agreeably to the above order the whole twenty-nine were dismissed the main guard and joined their regiment.

Wednesday, July 28th. News arrived of a large body of Indians having drawn about one hundred and forty of our militia stationed on the Delaware, at a place called Tackawack,¹ above the Minisink, into an ambuscade, only eighteen or twenty of the party escaping, all the rest fell a prey to savage barbarity. This unfortunate affair happened on the 22d instant. Two or three field officers, with several captains, lieutenants and ensigns were among the missing. Colonel Read arrived from Sullivan's Stores with his detachment and ninety loaded wagons.

1. See note on page 64.

P. M.—Walked to the park of artillery, on my way down saw a note from Shawnee¹ directed to Dr. Ellmore, requesting his attendance on a man who, a few miles distant from this place, was shot both in his side and thigh by some Indians or painted Tories, but had the good fortune to get safe to his family; one he knew to be a white man, an acquaintance of his, who many months ago had joined the enemy.

“Ah, why will kings forget that they are men,
And men that they are brethren—why delight
In human sacrifice? Why burst the ties
Of nature that should knit their souls together
In one soft bond of unity and love.”

Thursday, July 29th. Agreeably to previous determination, the bodies of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones were removed from the place of their interment to the proper burying ground. The brotherhood met at five o'clock, and marching by

1. A Tribe of Shawanese Indians had been driven from their settlement in Georgia, and settled in the Wyoming Valley, where they built their town upon the west side of the river below the present town of Kingston, upon what are to this day called the Shawanese Flats. Stone's History of Wyoming. Three thousand men were encamped at Wyoming (and had been for months) when this message came in haste from Shawnee, but a mile or two from the tents, for Dr. Ellmore, the Indians having shot a man. Miner, p. 267.

the General's marque, had the pleasure of his company. Colonels Proctor's and Hubley's regiments, with drums, fifes and the band of music, accompanied them. Reaching the graves, an exceedingly heavy shower of rain prevented the delivery of a discourse designed for the occasion, however a short prayer was made, the bodies were interred in Masonic form, and three volleys of small arms fired. This evening General Sullivan received a letter giving a more favorable account of the Tackawack battle, making the killed and missing between forty and fifty. Orders were this day given for everything to be gotten in readiness for the marching of the army on Saturday morning.

Friday, July 30th. A letter was received by the General, dated yesterday at Northumberland, seven o'clock A. M., from Colonel Cook, informing him that the day before the enemy made themselves masters of Freeland's Fort upon terms of capitulation, viz.: "The men to remain prisoners of war, and they with the fort to be plundered by the Indians, the women to go free."¹ The number of

1. This allowing of the women to retire to the settlements was, according to

the enemy before the fort were two hundred and fifty, one-third of them were British troops, under the command of Captain McDonald, with a *corps de reserve* of one hundred men. At Northumberland, which is only twenty miles distant from the fort, there were only one hundred and fifty men to make a stand for the protection of the women and children, it being impossible to get them off; when the express came away they expected to be attacked every hour; the enemy had collected all the cattle and abundance of plunder of every kind. In an action after the capitulation, Captain Hawkins Boon and fourteen volunteers were killed and scalped and a few wounded.

Saturday, July 31st. This morning every department of the army was very busy in preparing for a movement. About one o'clock P. M. the whole marched¹ from Wyoming agreeably to the orders of the 25th. The fleet, under the command of Colonel

both Gordon and Miner, contrary to Indian usage, and was by the latter writer considered to be dictated by policy, fearing their own women and children might possibly fall into the hands of the advancing army.

1. A portion of Sullivan's army had reached Wyoming in April, another and larger portion in May. Another portion had reached Easton in May. From this point the main army marched on the 18th June, and reached Wyoming Valley on the 23d of the same month.

Proctor, consisting of one hundred and twenty boats, appeared most beautifully on the river; in passing the fort there was a mutual salute which gave universal satisfaction. The country we came through to-day, though generally a wilderness, affords a pleasing prospect of great improvement in a future day; we passed several plantations, no houses of any kind standing, being all burnt by the enemy; from the road we occasionally saw the river, which excited agreeable sensations. Crossing Lackawanick creek, which is in breadth about sixty yards and fordable all times of the year; it empties into the Susquehannah; encamped for the night near the same on a beautiful plain at Lackawanick, having marched from Wilkesbarre ten miles, and reaching the plain between the hours of five and six. Our course this day N. N. E. The light corps, which agreeably to general orders were to march in three columns, were by General Hand arranged as follows:—Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment and Captain Spalding's independent company advanced by platoons from the centre of a line formed by them, and constituted a column to proceed on the main road. The German

regiment and Captain Schott's¹ independent corps from the right of the said regiment, formed a column and marched on the right of the Eleventh, having their right flank covered by one-third of the light infantry of the Eleventh and Schott's riflemen in Indian file. Two-thirds of the light infantry of the Eleventh and Captain Spalding's² riflemen marched in Indian file on the left flank, and answer the purpose of a third column; each column and flanking party had proportioned to their strength respectively a small party advanced in front, the same to be observed if possible until our arrival at Tioga.³

1. Captain John Paul Schott was a Prussian officer, who had served in the armies of Frederick the Great. Coming to this country, he offered his services to Congress, and was given a commission as captain. After the war he became a citizen of Wyoming.

2. Captain Simon Spalding was born in Plainfield, Connecticut, 1741. He served as captain in the Revolutionary war. At the time of the massacre at Wyoming, he was in command of an independent company of riflemen, and was on his march from New Jersey, to assist the settlement. When within fifty miles of the valley he was met by some of the fugitives and learned of the disaster. He retired with his company to Stroudsburg, to await the march of Sullivan's army. During this march he became enamored of the country of Queen Esther (Shesequin), and determined to settle there, which he did in 1783. He lived at peace with the Indians, and died there, January 24th, 1814.

3. A portion of this day's record in the diary, appears on page 268 of Miner's History, and is the only portion that appears in his history. There are two or

Sunday, August 1st. The preceding night very rainy and at times uncommonly heavy, felt very cold and uncomfortable, which may be attributed in a great measure to sleeping on the ground and getting a great deal wet. General Hand this morning issued directions to be strictly observed by the light corps under his command in case of being attacked on the march, concluding with the following expressive language: "The Brigadier begs leave to assure the light troops that experience has taught him that maintaining a good countenance and a little perseverance, which from their known valor, he has every reason to expect will ensure success against the kind of enemy they have to oppose, and that turning their backs, let them be pressed ever so closely, will end in their utter ruin." Between the hours of two and three P. M. the fleet arrived, which, owing to many unforeseen difficulties, could not reach the Lackawanick sooner; two boats, one loaded with ammunition, the other with provisions, were sunk; the ammunition and provisions were saved. At

three verbal changes which may be the result of typographical errors, or errors in transcribing, or possibly Miner may have consulted the original manuscript. His history was printed in 1815.

three o'clock P. M. our line of march recommenced, which, as we had all our horses and cattle collected, must have exhibited a grand spectacle had there been any disposed to take a view of the whole. The army being obliged to proceed in Indian file, and the pack horses only, judged to be about two thousand in number, must have formed, according to the opinion of many of the officers, a line of at least six miles. This day we marched seven miles, and arriving about dusk at Quialutimunck, we pitched our tents for the night, contiguous to several fine springs on a considerably level spot surrounded by mountains and close by the river. Our course this day principally N. The road we marched over was exceedingly bad; we passed two places called the Narrows,¹ previous to our reaching the first (which are one mile in length); a very great curiosity presented itself to view, viz., a cascade² or falling spring. The

1. Colonel Hubley speaking in his Diary of the passage of the army through these defiles, describes it as exceedingly difficult and troublesome.

2. A short distance above Campbell's Ledge a beautiful Cascade comes rushing from the height, called Falling Springs. Upon the top of the mountain is a small spruce swamp formed by never failing springs. From this swamp issues the rill which falls over the precipice and presents the beautiful object which the traveler admires. Peck's Wyoming, p. 351. Colonel Hubley describes it

water descended in great abundance and amazingly rapid down a rock, interspersed with chasms, about eighty feet high ; the ear was agreeably stricken by the constant sound created by the descending water ; the distance between the first and second Narrows is three miles, which are one and a half miles long. The riding was much better than at the first Narrows, which are very stony and in several places so sloping as to have rendered it unsafe to keep on horseback. The soil of this country in general is loose and rich, abounding in trees of almost every kind, which, together with the high and thick brush, rendered our journeying rather tedious. In casting my eyes upon hills and mountains, some of which were imagined to be two, three and four hundred feet in height, my thoughts were agreeably led from nature's works to contemplate on nature's God. May it be my constant wish and aim to devote myself to the service of Him whose wisdom, power and goodness shine so conspicuous amidst all created objects. The fleet generally kept abreast of us, and our course being

as a most beautiful cataract, called Spring Falls. To attempt a description would be presumption. See his Diary.

mostly on the water's edge, we had frequently the opportunity of exchanging words. They all arrived timely without any detriment at Quialutimunck.¹ At Quialutimunck there was a few years ago an Indian town. The pasture ground at this encampment is very excellent, consisting of the highest Timothy grass I ever saw.

Monday, August 2d. Orders were this day issued for a continuance on the present ground, by reason of many of the pack horses not arriving till this morning. Colonel Cilley's regiment being in the rear to protect and bring on everything, did not arrive till two hours after sunrise; he gave an account of his having had a very tedious night; several horses gave out, the packs kept continually giving way and a considerable number of flour kegs burst, and the flour was lost. These with other reasons induced the General to prevent a movement until to-morrow morning. This being the anniversary²

1. Quialutimunck was about seventeen miles from Wyoming. Colonel Hubley describes it "as a spot of ground situated on the river open and clear, containing about twelve hundred acres, soil very rich, timber fine, grass in abundance, and contains several fine springs."

2. The difference between the date of Dr. Rogers' birth as given in the

of my nativity, grant, O God, that as my moments fly apace, I may by the assistance of thy Holy Spirit double my diligence to make my calling and election sure.

Tuesday, August 3rd. The light troops began their march at six o'clock in the morning, the main body at seven. The major part of the way we met with trifling difficulties; we had to encounter a few bad places, such as swamps, steep hills and thickets; however in comparison with Sunday's march, it deserves the appellation of excellent. On an exceedingly high spot we had the pleasure of viewing many adjacent mountains; in two or three places for a considerable way the woods were open, the earth in general fine, trees stately and of various sorts; among the rest are interspersed the sugar maple and birch. We crossed several beautiful purling streams or creeks, viz.: Buttermilk Run, Tunkhunnunk, and

biographical introduction, and in the diary is owing to the change from old style to new style, which took place in 1752, the year following the birth of Dr. Rogers. He was born July 23, 1751, which by the addition of eleven days would bring it, as given here, August 2. This by the addition of another day in 1800, becomes August 3, which is the true date as the calendar is now arranged.

a few smaller ones. Buttermilk Run, about forty yards below where we crossed it, falls off a rock or rocks fifty feet in height, which goes by the name of Buttermilk Falls;¹ so called on account of the water in its rapid descent appearing as white as the whitest buttermilk. Tunkhunnunk is a beautiful creek eight poles in breadth. The place where we crossed it, about three-quarters of a mile from the Susquehannah, into which it empties, was very rapid. The path along which we came and on each side of it as far as we could see, wild grass had grown in abundance. Some places, owing to the herbage, emitted a most fragrant smell, and we frequently had the pleasure of viewing flowers of various hues. Hazlenuts were ripening for a long tract of country in amazing quantities, and beyond a doubt nature has been equally kind in causing these wilds to abound with other things delicious to the taste. Several deer were seen, both by the officers and men; one came run-

1. About three miles from Quialutimunk, we crossed near another cataract which descended the mountain in three successive falls, the least of which is equal if not superior to the one already described. Although not quite so high it is much wider, and likewise empties into the Susquehannah, seemingly as white as milk. They are commonly known by the name of Buttermilk Falls. Hubley.

ning close by us ; none dared to fire, it being contrary to orders. Two privates in the right column, having each shot a fawn were put under guard as it occasioned a small alarm, and might if not prevented be attended with bad consequences. The country all along abounds with snakes, particularly the rattlesnake and blacksnake. At two o'clock P. M., we arrived at Tunkhunnunk, and encamped on the banks of the Susquehannah, about a mile from where we crossed the creek of the same name. The fleet got up between the hours of three and four. This day we marched twelve miles, course N. N. W.

Wednesday, August 4th. The light troops marched at five o'clock in the morning, and the main body at six. Soon after we set out we entered upon the third place since we left Wyoming called the Narrows, a mile and a half in length, a very bad, stony passage. These Narrows or defiles are on the west bounded by the river, which upon that account when the water is very high cannot well be travelled over. On the east they are bounded by exceedingly lofty and seemingly impassable mountains. Getting clear of this defile we had to rise a monstrous hill, very

steep, with a narrow pathway, for in case a horse should miss his step he must fall at least one hundred and fifty feet; the spectacle was horrid. Having surmounted this difficulty we had the pleasure of marching through a good deal of open wood, though one or two disagreeable swamps opposed us in our passage; in fine, many of yesterday's observations are applicable to this. Eight miles from Tunkhunk is a delightful creek called Masshappen or Massappe, in breadth seven rods; we crossed it near its mouth. The wilderness thereabouts goes by its name. For two miles after we passed this creek we marched over a fine level tract, and then entered upon another defile not near so tedious as the former. Arriving at a place called Black Walnut Bottom, our tents were pitched for the night on the river bank. The main body encamped on a tract formerly improved by one Vanderlip;¹ the light troops farther

1. Frederick Vanderlip was of the Pennsylvania party in the feuds which prevailed between the two colonies of Connecticut and Pennsylvania, on account of their rival titles. In November, 1774, at a meeting of the proprietors and settlers it was voted that August Hunt and Frederick Vanderlip, now residing on the Susquehannah purchase, were men that have and do now so conduct themselves by spreading reports about ye town of Westmoreland, as to add much to ye disturbance of ye good and wholesome inhabitants of the town, etc. Miner, page 160.

on, where one Williamson held a plantation. A creek, viz., Machapendaarre, ran between the two encampments. Our march this day was thirteen miles. Our course in general, northwest. At the bottom of the steep hill was an excellent stream of water. On this, as well as on the preceding days, we had several flying reports concerning the enemy though no real discoveries were made. Towards evening our fisherman Hansell returned from his flanking manœuvre and introduced himself with a good string of fish, on which having refreshed ourselves we retired soldierlike to our hard beds and devoted the night to invigorating sleep. "A contented mind and a good conscience will make a man happy in all conditions."

Hail universal Lord! be bounteous still
To give us only good; and if the night
Have gathered ought of evil or concealed
Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark."

Thursday, August 5th. By reason of the boats not arriving till late this morning the light troops did not march till half past eight o'clock, the main body their usual time after. We soon entered another de-

file or narrows three-quarters of a mile in length, bounded as the other defiles, though the mountains on the east appeared rather more perpendicular and lofty. Leaving the narrows we ascended a steep but short hill and travelled over a considerable open part of the country, the land in some places very indifferent, in others rich and fit for meadow. About two miles from Black Walnut Bottom, we crossed a small run or creek named Tuscaroge, took a particular view of the two places where the enemy last fall attacked Colonel Hartley's regiment on its return from Tioga. Both of them were as favorable for action as the regiment could have wished. We passed by a skull of one of our men who was then killed, hanging on a small tree. After we left this height, having marched over a low and swampy piece of ground we came to Wyalusing mountain. The ascent was gradual, at the top we had a pleasing view of the Susquehannah; its form is rather more than semi-circular, flowing around a large tract or wilderness called the Horse Shoe, which every one who sees it will confess to be rightly named.

From the top of the mountain the plains of Wya-

lusing¹ settlement are also visible, the descent of the mountain is not nearly so gradual as the ascent. The mountain is two miles over; on reaching the foot we entered a thicket containing the largest trees my eyes ever beheld of the sycamore or button wood kind, being in circumference, take one with another, between twenty and thirty feet, and in diameter between nine and twelve feet. Notwithstanding these trees, the bottom is called Sugar Bottom, on account of the Sugar Maple. Along this bottom there grows plenty of a root called sweet Sicily, of a similar taste with anise-seed and very useful. On the mountain and in the bottom we saw several spots where the Indians had encamped; fresh Indian tracks were discovered and one of their canoes was taken up by Mr. Lodge, also, by some of our soldiers, a raft with a pair of moccasins. An engagement was expected throughout the day, but granting that the enemy had a fair view of us, of which we had not

1. We descended the mountain nearly a mile and arrived in a fine and large valley known by the name of Wyalusing. It was formerly called Oldman's Farm, contains about twelve hundred acres, and had been occupied by Indians and white people. They had about sixty houses, all of which have been consumed and laid waste. The grass at this time is almost beyond description, high and thick, chiefly blue grass; the soil is very rich. Hubley's Diary.

the least doubt, they suffered us to pass unmolested, notwithstanding the many advantageous posts they might have occupied in annoying us. From the foot of the mountain to Wyalusing, the distance is one and a half miles. Wyalusing, which we reached in good season, consists of about one thousand acres of clear land, amazingly fertile and containing beds of extraordinary fine English grass. Since the present contest the town, which was inhabited by Moravian Indians, has been partly destroyed by our people and partly by the Indians. It contains upwards of eighty good square log houses, and a fine ornamented Moravian church in the centre with a bell. The minister resided in the town, there was also a tavern and other public buildings; all of which without exception were demolished or rafted down the Susquehannah. No sign of even the smallest hut was left standing. These Indians moved off with their families towards the Ohio. On this fine open plain, like a bed of down, the main army encamped. The light troops marched a mile further on, contiguous to an excellent spring, the place abounding with good pasture and distant from the river about half a mile,

where we made our fires and took up our abode for the night. This day's march was nine miles, course north 80° west, or northwest by west. Wyalusing plains are exactly fifty miles from Wyoming, agreeably to the actual survey of Mr. Lodge. The country hereabouts is excellent for hunting.

Friday, August 6th. This day the army halted, a party of thirty men from the light corps with a commissioned officer were sent out on a scout and returned without making any discoveries. Towards evening I rode to headquarters, where information had been received of four hundred and fifty British troops from Canada having joined the Indians, also a great body of savages from that quarter having been implored so to do by Colonel Brant, a devoted servant of the man who bears the title of the "Defender of the Faith." May the Lord give him that faith which worketh by love. Visited Colonel Proctor on board the "Adventure," and felt happy in finding all the fleet safely arrived and moored along the shore of Wyalusing plains. The evening rainy, which continued almost the whole night. Through the country the nights and mornings are generally

foggy ; when we were in Wyoming, and since we left it I scarcely remember seeing any clear sunshine until considerably late in the day.

Saturday, August 7th. By reason of the rain the army continued at Wyalusing. We hear that Indians had been doing mischief on the west branch of the Susquehannah near Northumberland. Nothing new occurred among us except that one or two scouting parties were sent out who returned without making any discoveries. Wyalusing belonged to one Job Childeway an Indian, a friend of our cause. Indian Job died last winter. Many handsome things are spoken of him, which makes his manners to be

"By strangers honored, and by strangers mourned."

Sunday, August 8th. The light troops marched at five o'clock in the morning and the main body at six. We crossed Wyalusing creek, a fine stream, where it is eighty feet wide in batteaux. Having soon afterwards ascended a long and high mountain, which consisted of a good deal of miserable but some rich land, we found our march tolerably agreeable as the woods were not as thick as common.

The descent of the mountain was very rough and steep. We then passed along a short defile, leaving which our course was for a considerable distance along the banks of the river through a gloomy thicket. Having waded through the creek and descended another steep place, we entered upon another defile rather longer and more tedious than the former one. After this we soon arrived at Standing Stone Flats, distant from Wyalusing ten miles. Here is plenty of good land, fit for meadow and for raising wheat and other grain. It was formerly settled by a few families, some of whom have since been so villainous as to join the savages. Just upon entering these flats, I saw the stone from which they take their name. It is upon the opposite shore, on the cap of the water with which it is usually surrounded. Its height is twenty feet. Its breadth fourteen feet. Its thickness two and a half feet.¹ At the back of it is a large rock forming more than a semi-circle upon which it is supposed a considerable tenement might be erected. Passing then through another

1. Colonel Hubley describes this stone to be erect in the river opposite the plain, it is near twenty feet in height, fourteen feet in width and three feet in depth.

thicket, we came to a third defile, the worst narrow passage, on account of stone and roughness, which we have met with since we left Wyoming. Surmounting this difficulty and passing over a tract of exceedingly fine bottom, we arrived at Weesanking or Rush Meadow Creek, a stream both narrow and shallow. Not far from this, on the banks of the Susquehannah, we encamped for the night. The ground was level and very good, but we could find no spring water. Distance to-day thirteen and a half miles, our course northwest. Captain Bush having gathered a few wild gooseberries, gave me one to taste; they are exactly similar to the tame kind. I plucked some wild pinks, and saw a wild tulip, and also plenty of crab apples. Across the river, and upon an island, we had the pleasure of viewing a large flock of wild ducks; contrary to orders to fire, or we might have had an excellent supper. This country abounds also in turkeys, which, in their flight near us make us often wish for a repeal of the general orders. General Sullivan being ill, took passage on board the fleet, which arrived at Standing Stone Flat, where the main body of the army

tarried during the night. On this day's march we saw one or two places where the savages had lately encamped, also an Indian paddle floating down the river, and a canoe lying on the beach. A scouting party which had gone forward many miles, returning informed us that they had seen three tracks of Indians, and a spot where they had lately set down. They were undoubtedly spying our progress, though as yet we have met with no impediment from them.

Monday, August 9th. The main army not reaching Weesanking till ten o'clock, A. M., the light troops did not leave it until one-quarter of an hour afterwards. Considering our advanced position, we were under some expectation of a visit from our tawney neighbors. However, we passed the night without being disturbed. Soon after we set out, we were a little obstructed by a swamp. Afterwards, as usual, our time was employed in rising and descending mountains; sometimes marching by the river, but mostly at a considerable distance from it. The land was without exception rich; but none of the timber, though of various kinds, by any means high

as large as that which may be seen between Wyoming and Easton. Between four and five miles from Weesanking we came to a hill called Break-neck Hill. It is an exceeding narrow and sidelong path along a very high mountain, about a quarter of a mile long, with scarcely room for man and horse to walk in, and in case of a misstep nothing seemingly could preserve from instant death, as the fall must be at least one hundred and eighty feet perpendicular down rocks into the river. We got safe over this shocking passage. The army marched with orders to stop one mile ahead of the first plains of Shesecunnunk, opposite to which on the other shore had been an Indian settlement, consisting of a few houses. They were destroyed last fall by Colonel Hartley's detachment. Owing to the mistake of the guides or some other cause the first plains were passed. It was then judged proper to proceed through the woods to the upper plains of Shesecunnunk, which we reached at five o'clock, P. M. Near these plains and on them, we plainly discovered many fresh tracks of the enemy; and we doubt not of their having been here but a short time before our

arrival. March of the light troops to-day from Weesauking Upper Plains, eleven miles. Our general course north by northwest. On this as well as on some of the preceding days, we saw several of the bows on which the Indians dry the scalps they take."¹ Two or three canoes were taken up oppo-

1. The following very curious letter giving some details of the results of the long and bloody wars in this region has been taken from Almon's *Memorabraner*, vol. 14, p. 135-6. It was copied into that periodical from the *Boston Independent Chronicle* of March 12, 1782. It also appeared in the *Providence Gazette* of January 18, 1783.

Extract of a letter from Captain Gerrish, of the New England militia, dated Albany, March 7 :—

"The peltry taken in the expedition, will, you see, amount to a good deal of money. The possession of this booty at first gave us pleasure; but we were struck with horror to find among the packages eight large ones, containing scalps of our unhappy country folks, taken in the three last years by the Senneka Indians, from the inhabitants of the frontiers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and sent by them as a present to Colonel Haldimand, Governor of Canada, in order to be by him transmitted to England. They were accompanied by the following curious letter to that gentleman."

TIOGA, January 3d, 1782.

May it please your Excellency :—At the request of the Senneka Chiefs, I send herewith to your Excellency, under the care of James Boyd, eight packs of scalps, cured, dried, hooped, and painted with all the Indian triumphal marks, of which the following is invoice and explanation.

No. 1. Containing 43 scalps of Congress soldiers, killed in different skirmishes. These are stretched on black hoops, 4 inches diameter; the inside of the skin painted red, with a small black spot, to note their being killed with bullets. Also 62 of farmers, killed in their houses; the hoops red; the skin painted

site our encamping ground. This day's march was very fatiguing and several of the men gave out. A good deal of the ground we passed over was covered with pea vines. May apples were also plenty.

Tuesday August 10th. Captain Gifford who commanded the detachment of the army on the west side

brown, and marked with a hoe; a black circle round, to denote their being surprised in the night, and a black hatchet in the middle, signifying their being killed with that weapon.

No. 2. Containing 98 of farmers, killed in their houses; hoops red, figure of a hoe, to mark their profession; a great white circle and sun, to show they were surprised in the day time; a little red foot, to show they stood upon their defence, and died fighting for their lives and families.

No. 3. Containing 97 of farmers; hoops green, to show they were killed in their fields; a large white circle, with a little round mark on it for the sun, to show that it was in the day time; black bullet marks on some, hatchets on others.

No. 4. Containing 102 of farmers, mixed of the several marks above; only 18 marked with a little yellow flame, to denote their being of prisoners burnt alive, after being scalped, their nails pulled out by the roots, and other torments; one of these latter supposed to be of an American clergyman, his hand being fixed to the hoop of his scalp. Most of the farmers appear by the hair to have been young or middle-aged men; there being but 67 very grey heads among them all; which makes the service more essential.

No. 5. Containing 88 scalps of women; hair long, braided in the Indian fashion, to show they were mothers; hoops blue; skin yellow ground, with little red tadpoles, to represent, by way of triumph, the tears of grief occasioned to their relations; a black scalping knife or hatchet at the bottom, to mark their being killed by those instruments. Seventeen others, hair very gray; black hoops; plain brown color; no mark but the short club or castetete, to show they were knocked down dead, or had their brains beat out.

of the river, gave us a little history of his march and observations, differing not much from that of the army on the east side. The fleet arrived between eight and nine o'clock this morning after a tedious passage from Weesanking. Yesterday about four o'clock, P. M., they burned an Indian town on the

No. 6. Containing 193 boys' scalps, of various ages; small green hoops; whitish ground on the skin, with red tears in the middle, and black bullet marks, knife, hatchet or club, as their deaths happened.

No. 7. Two hundred and eleven girls' scalps, big and little; small yellow hoops; white ground; tears, hatchet, club, scalping-knife, etc.

No. 8. This package is a mixture of all the varieties above mentioned, to the number of 122; with a box of birch bark, containing 29 little infants' scalps of various sizes; small white hoops; white ground; no tears, and only a little black knife in the middle, to show they were ript out of their mothers' bellies.

With these packs the Chief send to your Excellency the following speech, delivered by Conciogatchie in Council, interpreted by the elder Moore, the trader, and taken down by me in writing.

Father:—We send you herewith many scalps, that you may see we are not idle friends.

A blue belt.

Father:—We wish you to send these scalps over the water to the great King, that he may regard them and be refreshed; and that he may see our faithfulness in destroying his enemies, and convinced that his presents have not been made to ungrateful people.

A blue and white belt with red tassels.

Father:—Attend to what I am now going to say: It is a matter of much weight. The great King's enemies are many, and they grow fast in number. They were formerly like young panthers; they could neither bite nor scratch; we could play with them safely; we feared nothing they could do to us. But now their bodies are become big as the elk, and strong as the buffalo: they have also got great and sharp claws. They have driven us out of our country for taking part in your quarrel. We expect the great King will give us another country,

west bank of the river, and containing about twenty-eight wigwams. One of the boats was sunk on the passage; but a party being sent down for the purpose, saved all the flour but two barrels. By this day's general orders the quantum of rations was diminished; several reasons made manifest the propriety of this measure. General Sullivan, with the brigadiers, and a regiment from each brigade who went out to reconnoitre, returned without making discovery of any savages.

Wednesday, August 11th. The light troops

that our children may live after us, and be his friends and children as we are. Say this for us to our great King. To enforce it give this belt.

A great white belt with blue tassels.

Father:—We have only to say further, that your traders exact more than ever for their goods; and our hunting is lessened by the war, so that we have fewer skins to give for them. This ruins us. Think of some remedy. We are poor; and you have plenty of everything. We know you will send us powder and guns and knives and hatchets, but we also want shirts and blankets.

A little white belt.

I do not doubt but that your Excellency will think it proper to give some further encouragement to those honest people. The high prices they complain of, are the necessary effect of the war. Whatever presents may be sent for them through my hands, shall be distributed with prudence and fidelity.

I have the honor of being

Your Excellency's most obedient
and most humble servant,

JAMES CRAWFORD.

marched from Upper Shesceecunk at half past seven, the main body at eight o'clock, A. M. Proceeding about one mile and a half we arrived at a fording place on the Susquehannah, unknown to any of our guides, but found out on the preceding day by the general officers. The troops pursuant to orders, taking off their overalls and tying them about their necks, crossed in platoons under cover of the fleet, each soldier grasping the hand of his comrade next to him for support. The current being strong and the water for a considerable distance coming up to the middle of the men, some difficulties were encountered, but notwithstanding every impediment the whole body got over without suffering any peculiar disadvantage. General Hand in order to animate his brigade, dismounted and marched through on foot at the head of his soldiers. Such an army crossing a river with so much regularity at a place so rapid and in width three hundred and thirty yards, affords the spectator a pleasing sight, and must have struck our enemies with awe. I must doubt whether the army of Alexander the Great encountered as many difficulties with as much

good humor as ours has evinced. The river being forded we entered upon what is properly called the Indian country, or that part of the wilderness claimed by the six nations, the boundary on the west side is the Tawandee Creek, emptying into the Susquehannah, about three miles above Weesanking. The army being formed as usual we proceeded sometimes in single files, and then in double, through a thicket till we entered those beautiful plains where the Tioga branch unites itself with the main river. On this level spot stood Queen Esther's palace,¹ burned by Colonel Hartley last fall. Over those plains the army marched towards the mouth of the Tioga, in

1. Queen Esther seems to be a historical character about whom there exists great differences of opinion. Miner describes her as the bloody leader of the Indians at Wyoming, and as the heroine of the Fatal Ring, when she with her own hand beat in the brains of eleven of the prisoners. Colonel Stone, on the contrary, holds that her real name was Catharine Montour, and that she was a lady of comparative refinement, and could not have been guilty of these horrible cruelties. Lebbens Hammond was one of her prisoners at the Fatal Ring. He escaped, as also did Joseph Elliott, likewise a prisoner. Both are accounted by all parties to have been men of excellent character, and both gave their sanction to the views held by Miner. It seems as if they ought to be competent witnesses. On the advance of Colonel Hartley's force in the fall of 1778, Queen Esther's palace at Tioga was reached and destroyed. The following fall, 1779, one of the first towns which General Sullivan ordered destroyed was Catharine's Town on Seneca Lake, the residence of Catharine Montour.

order of battle, the light troops being joined by two three-pounders from the regiment of artillery. The view of this was grand beyond description, as the ground for a great circuit was level, and the grass high and green. Drums were beating, fifes playing, colors flying. Getting to the mouth of the Tioga, we found it in width one hundred and forty-two yards, and the water much deeper than had been imagined. Verdant plains in our rear, the flowing Susquehannah on our right. Ourselves in the Tioga or Cayuga stream, with a fine neck of land in our front and mountains surrounding the whole, afforded pleasant reflections though separated from friends and in an enemy's country. Surely a soil like this is worth contending for. Possessing ourselves of the north side of the Tioga, and passing through a swampy piece of ground we entered upon other plains, pleasing to the eye, though not so grand as those on the south. Here the main body encamped; the light troops proceeded farther on, one column on the banks of the Susquehannah, and another on those of the Tioga banks. The land in general very fine. Having advanced a mile and better, our tents

were pitched from river to river, judged to be two hundred yards. Just below our encampment we took a view of the Indians' carrying place, thirteen yards across, so called from their carrying or dragging their canoes from river to river to save themselves the trouble of paddling round the neck.

On the west side of the Tioga is a most beautiful tract of level and fine country, terminated by a mountain. On this tract an Indian town formerly stood; it was destroyed by themselves. This day we marched five miles, course due north. Saw Captain Jehoiakim, who with four men had come thus far forward the day before. He picked up one or two horses that had been left behind by the savages. Captain Jehoiakim's three Stockbridge Indians left us at Wyoming.

Thursday, August 12th. Rode to the other encampment. The scouting party which went out the evening before with Captain Cummins, returned about three o'clock, P. M. The accounts brought by them of Chemung and the seeming security of the Indians there as well as of some white persons, together with their fields of corn, etc., induced the

General after holding a council to determine to surprise the village if possible. Accordingly between nine and ten o'clock at night, the major part of the army marched with the utmost silence for the place with the Commander-in-Chief, his family consisting of Generals Poor, Hand and others. General Maxwell being unwell, tarried behind. To have been of the party myself was my fervent desire, but I could not petition for it to be granted, after being requested by General Hand to stay and take charge of our family baggage and stores, which, among such domestics as we are blessed with, was the necessary duty of some one. Captain Cummins's party brought in with them two fresh scalps lately taken by the Indians, the crowns of each only cut out. One, from the thinness of the skin, must have been an infant's. In this day's general orders appeared in substance the following: "As the army will soon be called upon to march against an enemy whose savage barbarity to our fellow citizens, has rendered them proper subjects of our resentment, the General assures them that though their number should even be equal, which he is sensible cannot be the case, yet it is his

firm opinion they cannot withstand the bravery and discipline of the troops he has the honor to command. Nevertheless it ought to be remembered that they are a secret, desultory and rapid foe, seizing every advantage and availing themselves of every defeat on our part. Should we be so inattentive to our own safety as to give way before them, they become the most dangerous and most destructive enemy that can possibly be conceived. They follow the unhappy fugitives with all the cruel and unrelenting hate of prevailing cowards, and are not satisfied with slaughter until they have totally destroyed their opponents. It therefore becomes every officer and soldier to resolve never to fly before such an enemy, but determine either to conquer or perish, which will ever insure success. Should they thus determine and thus act, nothing but an uncommon frown of Providence can prevent us from obtaining that which will insure peace and security to our frontiers, and afford lasting honor to all concerned.

Friday, August 13th. That part of our army which marched for Chemung the evening before returned at dusk. The particulars relative to this

enterprise as collected from several friends, particularly Major Edwards, are as following: Owing to many inconveniences attending a march by night in a wilderness, they did not arrive at Chemung till after daylight; nevertheless the morning being very foggy, favored their undertaking. Having surrounded the town, to their great sorrow they found it abandoned. Its situation was beautiful, being on the banks of the Tioga branch. The houses in general were good, some built of logs, others of hewed slabs, in numbers, upwards of thirty, with a council house. The whole was immediately set fire to, and the place totally destroyed. The infantry then moved on towards another Indian village called Newtown, distant from Chemung seven or eight miles, in pursuit of the savages, who with their cattle were supposed to have taken that route. Proceeding about one mile, they came to the place where the savages had passed the night, but being apprized of our approach they made their escape, leaving behind their blankets, fires burning and dogs asleep by them. General Hand having by Major Edwards, requested General Sullivan to allow him to go on to

Newtown, General Sullivan consented, provided General Hand would engage to return next morning to Tioga. General Hand then determined instantly to push forward. Captain Bush's infantry being on the right flank, and the advance party but a little in front, the light corps thus moving forward soon came to a very high hill or rather ridge, which ran along on their right. The Indians, who had fixed themselves there for the purpose, immediately discharged a very sharp volley upon our advanced party, which wounded Captain Franklin, their guide, Adjutant Hinton,¹ and a few others, killed a sergeant and some privates. The 11th Pennsylvania regiment hereupon, in a moment, pushed up the hill with an astonishing rapidity. The savages as they were advancing gave them another well directed fire, but seeing the determined spirit of our troops, suddenly fled. The light corps pursued them some distance and were pushing for Newtown, but General Sullivan arriving, thought it best for them to return in order to destroy their fields of corn which

1. This name is printed Huston in Colonel Hubley's Journal, as it is on the following page in this Journal.

were very fine indeed and supposed to be in the whole nearly a hundred acres. From the quantity of corn and potatoes stored there, Chemung was judged to be designed for a magazine to supply their future wants. As General Poor's brigade were destroying an upper field they were fired upon by the Indians. He had one man killed and two or three more wounded. The whole business of laying waste their ground and burning their villages was completed before one o'clock, P. M., the detachment having marched, going and returning, above thirty miles. The 11th Pennsylvania regiment had six killed, viz., one sergeant, one drummer and four privates. Two officers badly wounded, viz.,¹ Captain Carberry and Adjutant Huston. Slightly wounded, six privates. The main army had one man killed and a few wounded. The dead bodies were brought to camp on horses, and all the wounded got in safe. Several Indian curiosities were picked up by the soldiery and some of the officers, such as painted scalps, etc. Tarried for my own part in my quarters all day and felt very lonesome.

1. By Colonel Hubley's account, the entire loss in this skirmish was six killed and twelve wounded.

Saturday, August 14th. Attended to the grave the bodies of the six killed of Hubley's regiment. They were all as decently as possible interred together. Pronounced a funeral oration and went to prayer; the regiment very solemn and attentive. The scene was exceedingly affecting. Informed Mr. Kilpatrick of the enemy's leaving Northumberland county, after ruining all the settlements on the West Branch.

Sunday, August 15th. The forenoon being very cloudy, this, together with parading the troops, and cooking, prevented preaching to the respective brigades. Early in the afternoon as a number of gentlemen were sitting with General Hand, we heard the discharge of several guns across the Tioga, and immediately afterwards the Indian scalp warhoop. Upon our repairing to the banks several savages were by different persons discovered retreating along the mountains, taking with them four or five horses. A detachment from the light troops in the upper and two Jersey regiments from the lower encampments went in pursuit of them. But agreeably to the old adage it was similar to looking for needles in a hay-

stack. Their footsteps were plainly seen but their persons were invisible. They killed and scalped one of our men, a lad employed as a driver; his body was brought over soon afterwards. One of our soldiers was wounded and a bullock was shot. The Indians are enemies fruitful in stratagem, secret in their designs, and capable of taking every advantage which the situation of the ground or our own inattention may given them. I forgot to mention the supposed loss of the enemy in the battle on Friday. A jacket of one of them was picked up bloody and shot through. Also a hat. One or two were seen to fall and afterwards to be carried off by the others. From these circumstances it is imagined that they had seven or eight killed and wounded.

Monday, August 16th. This morning agreeably to orders of the 14th, nine hundred picked men, with a suitable number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers under the command of Generals Poor and Hand marched off the ground in order to proceed upon the main branch, to meet the troops and boats, which, under the command of General Clinton, were to leave Lake Otsego, on the 9th instant.

The detachment took with it eight day's provisions. The light troops being much reduced by draughts from them upon account of this expedition, were by reason of our advanced and dangerous situation joined by two pieces of artillery from the park under the command of Captains Craig and Ernes. Visited the sick and wounded in the general hospital. By this day's orders the soldiery were positively forbidden to go out of the lines of the encampment under any pretext whatever. A captain and fifty men were posted on the west side of the Cayuga, to guard the horses and cattle and secure the camp. The troops were forbidden to imitate the Indian whoop, as also to discharge their guns wantonly. A single gun is to be considered as an alarm. P. M.—An express arrived, also a person from Philadelphia. The person from Philadelphia, mentioned that Count d'Estaing had obtained a victory over the British fleet off the Island of St. Vincents. By a letter from General Clinton to General Sullivan, the latter was informed that the 16th of August (this day), he should leave Onohocassage, about sixty miles up the river from Tioga. The block houses, (which were directed

to be built a little in the rear of the infantry encampment, for the security of the peninsula, and where a garrison with the flying hospital on the army's marching from this are to be left, are going on with a good deal of rapidity), were this evening called by the name of Fort Sullivan, out of respect to the illustrious character who with his army first took possession of this post on behalf of the United States.

Tuesday, August 17th. Last night the light corps were several times alarmed by the sentries. Twice I got up. Small parties were sent out by Colonel Hubley to reconnoitre the environs of the camp, and returned each time with an account of the sentries mistaking either horses or some other moving objects for Indians. Two guns were discharged by the party on the west side of the Cayuga, and one by the advanced front guard of infantry. In the country of so lurking an enemy, we cannot but expect frequent mistakes of this kind. P. M.—Six soldiers of the German regiment having obtained leave to go a small distance to search for some of their missing horses, were, between two and three

hundred yards from our advanced sentries, fired upon by about twelve secreted savages. They returned the fire ; four got into camp safe. A party being sent out by Colonel Hubley, met one returning to the regiment shot through the arm and all the bones above his elbow shattered. I went immediately to see him, and found the poor fellow, though full of pain, very patient ; the sixth was killed by three or four balls through the body and head, and scalped. His body was found and brought in. He formerly lived in Fifth street, near Market street, Philadelphia. His name was Philip Helter, by trade a biscuit baker.

Wednesday, August 18th. Very early this morning by reason of yesterday's occurrence, several small parties with certain directions were sent out different ways under enterprising officers to bring in if possible or kill some of the dastardly cruel lurking foe. Last night a sentry discharged his musket at an imaginary Indian which caused the infantry to appear under arms ; got up myself, soon retired again to my tent and slept very sound till sunrise. At eleven o'clock, A. M., preached a sermon at our

encampment in commemoration of the death of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones, vide observations of Thursday, July 29th. Present, General Sullivan and family; General Maxwell and family; the 11th Pennsylvania regiment, artillery; members of Lodge No. 19, with many other gentlemen of the army. A short time after sermon attended to the grave the body of Philip Helter, addressed the soldiery and went to prayer; the day being very sultry, was, after so much preaching, a good deal overcome. The parties sent out in the morning returned without doing anything material. This night one gun was fired which occasioned a small alarm.

Thursday, August 19th. Parties, as yesterday, sent out; returned towards evening in *eodem modo*. This night a musket discharged at some fancied enemy. Rainy all night.

Friday, August 20th. Early this morning, arrived Lieutenant Boyd,¹ of the rifle corps with a

1. The fate of this unfortunate young officer illustrates the refined cruelty of the Indians. On the 13th of September following, he was sent out to reconnoitre the enemy's country. He had with him twenty-four men. On their return they were attacked, fourteen were killed, eight escaped, and Lieutenant Boyd and one soldier were captured. When the army reached Genesee Castle, the most northern point of their march, they found the remains of these two

letter from General Clinton to General Sullivan. Lieutenant Boyd informs us that their army and our detachment met the day before at ten o'clock A. M., eight miles this side of Chenango. The same evening Owegy, an Indian village twenty miles from hence was by the army laid in ashes. Lieutenant Boyd left them at Owegy, eleven o'clock, P. M., they resolving to be here the next, viz., this day. However, the day being throughout very stormy, without doubt prevented their proceeding. Lieutenant Boyd spent the day with Major Sproat,¹ and purposes tarrying with us till General Clinton gets in. General Clinton's troops had met with no opposition on their

men. The torture fires were still burning, flaming pine knots had been thrust into the bodies of the victims, their finger nails pulled out, their tongues cut off, their eyes put out and they were decapitated. Another narrator states that Boyd had been stabbed in the abdomen, an intestine driven out and tied to a tree, and the sufferer driven around it. Lieutenant Boyd's sword taken from him at this time, was recaptured by Thomas Bennet, in March, 1780, who at the same time slew the Indian Chief who led in these torments.

1. Major Ebenezer Sproat was born in Middleborough, Massachusetts, in 1752. He entered the Revolutionary army in 1775, and arose gradually to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in command of a regiment. He served at Trenton, Princeton and Monmouth. After the war he removed to Providence, R. I., where he married the daughter of Commodore Abraham Whipple, in 1786. On the resignation of Caleb Harris, Congress elected him a Surveyor of the Western Territory on the part of Rhode Island. In 1788, the family removed to Marietta, Ohio, where Major Sproat died in February, 1805.

march, when Mr. Boyd came away. They burnt every house they came across, without exception, and destroyed all the corn and grain.

Saturday, August 21st. No new occurrence.

Sunday, August 22nd. This morning arrived General Clinton with his army and our detachment. The majority of General Clinton's troops came down in batteaux,¹ in number, two hundred

1. The Rev. John Gano left some memoranda concerning these matters, from which the following is an extract:

"About this time the Western expedition was meditated to be conducted by General Sullivan, General Maxfield of New Jersey, was to go up the Susquehannah and form a junction with General Clinton, General Banis's brigade from New England, to go to Otsego at the head of the Susquehannah, and wait for orders to come down the river with flat bottomed boats, which were for the conveyance of the troops and provisions. Accordingly one hundred and eight boats were provided and went up the North River and Mohawk River to Canajoharie. From thence they were carried through woods and swamps sixteen miles to Otsego Lake, which forms the Susquehannah. While some of the army were cutting and preparing the road for the conveyance of the boats the General sent others to dam the outlet of the lake, this was so effectually done that the whole lake was raised three or four feet. We lay at Otsego five or six weeks, previous to receiving orders for marching. * * * Our troops, both officers and privates grew extremely impatient, * * * fearing the campaign would fall through. The General informed me that he had received orders to move, and that he should do so on the next Monday. He requested me not to mention it till after service the next day, which was Sunday. I preached to them from these words: 'Being ready to depart on the morrow.' As soon as service was closed the General rose up and ordered each Captain to appoint a certain number of men out of his company to draw the boats from the lake

and seven, and they of the small kind;¹ upon their passing by the light corps encampment they were saluted by the discharge of thirteen rounds from two six pounders. As our detachment with Colonel William Butler's command marched through, they were received by the remaining part of General Hand's brigade under arms and welcomed by the band of music and drums and fifes, playing alternately. At twelve o'clock rode to the lower camp, and to my great satisfaction saw Mr. Gano;² found him hearty

and string them along the Susquehannah below the dam and load them, that they might be ready to depart the next morning. Notwithstanding the dam had been opened several hours, yet the swell it had occasioned in the river served to carry the boats over the shoals and flats which would have been impossible otherwise. It was at that time very dry. It was therefore a matter of astonishment to the inhabitants down the river for above an hundred miles what could have occasioned such a freshet in the river. The soldiers marched on both sides of the river, excepting the invalids who went in the boats with the baggage and provisions. In a few days we formed a junction at Cayuga, with the troops from below." *Memoirs of Gano*, p. 103, et seq.

1. The great difference in the number of boats used by Clinton's army, as stated by these two writers, must be attributed to a typographical error on the part of the newspaper, whence the diary was copied, wherein it appears 207.

2. Rev. John Gano was born at Hopewell, N. J. His ancestors were French Huguenots, who were driven from France, by the persecutions to which all Protestants were subjected during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The name was originally Ganeau. At the time of the breaking out of the Revolution he was pastor of a Baptist church in New York city, which he had established in 1761. The breaking out of the war, scattered the

and well. The provisions brought by General Clinton, did not as to quantity turn out so much as we expected, owing to their necessary consumption of the same at Lake Otsego, where they were obliged to continue idle about a month as we were unprepared to meet them sooner at Tioga. The consequences which must result may be easily supposed. The first grand design of the expedition must in a great measure prevail (fail). No preaching to-day by reason of the troops arriving and preparations making for speedy departure. With General Clinton came only two of the Oneidas.

church, many left the city, and among them Mr. Gano. He was immediately solicited to become a chaplain in the army, but he declined, until at the urgent request of General James Clinton and Colopel Dubosque, he finally consented and was in that position with them at Forts Montgomery and Clinton, when they were stormed by the British. In speaking of this affair Dr. Gano says: "The British army surrounded both our forts and commenced a universal firing. I was walking on the breastwork, viewing their approach, but was obliged to quit this station as the musquet balls frequently passed me. I observed the enemy marching up a little hollow that they might be secure from our firing, till they came within eighty yards of us. Our breastwork immediately before them was not more than waist band high, and we had but a few men." The enemy assaulted these works in the dusk of evening. The darkness together with the smoke rendered it impossible to distinguish friend from foe. In the confusion many of the Americans ran to the river and crossed to the other side by means of a scow and a row-gallie. Among those escaping was Dr. Gano, who in a day or two reached New Windsor in Connecticut. Soon after he re-

Monday, August 23rd, A. M. Visited the sick and wounded. Dined at home. Colonel Butler and other gentlemen being with us. P. M., spent with Dr. Gano at General Clinton's Marquee. About five o'clock in General Poor's brigade, a soldier flashing his gun, it went off, and at a considerable distance shot an officer,¹ as he was standing at a tent door; he instantly expired; upon calling to look at the body, was informed that he was a married man, his wife and five children residing in New Hampshire; a sad misfortune. By this day's orders the 4th Pennsylvania regiment and Rifle Corps are annexed to General Hand's brigade. Two hundred and fifty men properly officered, exclusive of boatmen to be left as a garrison at this place, Colonel Shreve appointed to command. Myself ordered to officiate

joined the army and continued to serve as chaplain until the close of the war. He was with General Clinton in his expedition from the Mohawk Valley, to join Sullivan in his assault upon the Six Nations, of which affair he has left some account. At the close of the war he returned to New York, to gather his church together. He remained there until 1788, when he removed to Kentucky, where he died August 10th, 1804, in his 78th year. His life was written by his son Rev. Stephen Gano, for many years pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence, R. I.

1. Captain Kimball, of General Poor's brigade. The same ball wounded a lieutenant in the same tent with Captain Kimball.

as chaplain to the garrison at Wyoming. This is in consequence of the dispersed state of the 3rd Pennsylvania brigade¹ and the majority of those who are together, being attached to the light corps, whose duty, after they leave Tioga, will be such as to render my presence unnecessary, as no opportunity for preaching can possibly occur. These considerations caused me to comply without much hesitation.

Tuesday, August 24th. This day nothing very material occurred except the universal hurry throughout the whole in preparing for a march. Accordingly, P. M., tents were struck, horses loaded, and every movement necessary for the new movement took place. Owing to the numbers of the pack horses being lost or otherwise missing, General Clinton's brigade was poorly supplied.

Wednesday, August 25th. The troops which were this forenoon to march agreeably to yesterday's directions, were by reason of their not being properly equipped, ordered to hold themselves in perfect readiness to proceed at all events. At eleven o'clock arrived three Oncoidas, one a Lieutenant

1. The three Pennsylvania Battalions of which Dr. Rogers was the chaplain.

commissioned by Congress ; upon their advancing to the infantry encampment a sentry presented his fire-lock ; the Oneidas clubbed theirs and ventured in by making signs of good faith. Upon their marching through the several brigades many officers and soldiers, laboring under the same belief with the sentry, particularly as they were escorted by a guard, gathered around them ; they informed us that one of their young warriors was lately killed in Canada, by the British, and that a number of their tribe had since gone to revenge his death. P. M.—Heavy rain. In the evening an express arrived ; intelligence by him received that Colonel Broadhead, from Fort Pitt,¹ had marched with a number of troops and friendly Indians with an intention of forming a junction with General Sullivan, near Genesee. He also brought several newspapers, which announced the victory obtained by the French fleet over the British off Grenada, and that Island, together with Tobago, was in possession of our allies.

Thursday, August 26th. Early this morning rode

1. Fort Pitt stood on the present site of the city of Pittsburg. In earlier days it had been known as Fort Du Quesne.

to the lower encampment; they appeared in great hurry and confusion; soon returned to my quarters. Late in the forenoon the whole, exclusive of the garrison, marched. Many articles went up the Tioga in boats; as they set out under great and divers inconveniences, their return must be so sudden as will in all probability prevent effecting much. Twenty-seven days provisions only. Artillery passing through an uncultivated country, etc. However ardent my wishes are, yet my fears more than counterbalance. The Rifle and Light Corps moving off with the sound of the horn, appeared highly pleasing, the main body following in their rear about one mile, added a peculiar grace. Would to God they were better supplied. Captain Bush, Dr. Kinnersley and myself erected our living abode within the lines of Fort Sullivan, proposing to spend our time as comfortably as possible together, until some of the boats set off for Wyoming. The command of the garrison being committed to so vigilant and worthy an officer as Colonel Shreve, affords much confidence and good humor in all those who are to continue with him, although their sufferings may be great and

duty must be hard. Captain Wool has charge of the two garrison six pounders. Colonel Dubois and Lieutenant Colonel Reignier commanded the flanking division on the right of the army. Colonel Ogden and Lieutenant-Colonel Willett, that on the left.

Friday, August 27th. The Army yesterday moved but three miles; marched again this morning about seven o'clock. The great parade and regularity which is observed, must unavoidably in the end, letting alone all other obstacles, greatly defeat the purpose of the expedition, considering the coyness and subtilty of the Indians. The garrison at Fort Sullivan is very short of provisions,¹ the salted beef much tainted. Divers cattle which since our arrival at this post have strayed away, were this day discov-

1. Several times in this diary the shortness of provisions is referred to, and after the departure of Dr. Rogers, the army was put on half rations, yet, according to the accounts both here and in other authorities, immense amounts of provisions were destroyed. Under the date of August 27th, Colonel Hubley says: "Light corps (encamped) near the entrance of a defile or narrows in front of very extensive corn fields. * * * After encamping had an agreeable repast of corn, potatoes, beans, cucumbers, watermelons, squashes, and other vegetables which were in great plenty (produced) from the cornfields already mentioned and in the greatest perfection."

ered by a scouting party sent out by the commandant. The party could bring none in, as they were apparently as wild as deer. The past night very cold, this morning, till late, exceedingly foggy ; and from about eleven o'clock, A. M., till four, P. M., very sultry.

Saturday, August 28th. A party which was directed to search after strayed horses and cattle, early this morning drove into the fort twenty-four of the latter. A great blessing indeed, as there are in the garrison about twelve hundred souls, men, women and children included, and previous to the twenty-four cattle being drove in, but five were left and those but poor. About dusk, sixty boats, most of them having many of the garrison on board, set off for Wyoming for provisions and other necessaries ; took passage myself with Captain Bush, on board the "Adventure," where were fixed as conveniently as circumstances would permit Captain Carberry and Adjutant Huston,¹ who owing to their wounds and much pain were exceedingly uneasy ; spent a very disagreeable night, as I had to sit or stand in a cramped posture.

1. Wounded in the action of August 13th.

Sunday, August 29th. This morning about day light we found ourselves ten miles below Wyalusing. Our quick passage was owing to the river being high and current strong; the day tediously passed. After dark we were so happy as to reach Wyoming; immediately repaired to Colonel Butler's, commandant of the garrison, who received me very kindly. I proposed staying with him till I set out for Philadelphia; he with his lady instantly consented; accordingly I was once more so happy as to sit down in a house, a privilege I had not enjoyed for many long days and nights before. Having for a great rarity supped comfortably, retired to rest and slept very sound.

Monday, August 30th. A pleasant morning. After breakfast read several late vehicles of public intelligence and then took a walk through the old incamping ground, and visited the officers of the garrison. At retreat beat, a soldier had to walk the gantlope¹ twice with a bayonet at his naked breast for theft.

1. This obsolete word is thus defined by Bailey: "To run the gantlope was to run through a company of soldiers standing on each side, making a lane, with each a switch in his hand to scourge the criminal." The same authority

Tuesday, August 31st. This morning, for the season, uncommonly cold, which continued till late. Called in to see Captain Coombs of the Jersey brigade, who lies dangerously ill; conversed with him; his answers very satisfactory.

Wednesday, September 1st. Between one and two o'clock this morning, departed this life the worthy Captain Coombs. The boats being loaded with various necessaries for the army, set out for Tioga; also between two hundred and three hundred head of fine cattle by land. Fifty pack horses with salt, butter, soap, etc., arrived at this post from Brinker's Mills. P. M.—The body of Captain Coombs was committed to the grave with military honors, previous to which I preached to the garrison and inhabitants a funeral sermon; a very attentive audience.

Thursday, September 2d. Last night about twelve o'clock, arrived Dr. Kendall with a number of wounded soldiery. He reports that an action

gives its derivation as being from "Gant, a town in Flanders, where the punishment was first invented, and loop a race, or leopen to run."—Bailey's English Dictionary, London, 1770. Another note concerning this same punishment among the Indians, appears on page 65 of this Tract.

happened on Sunday noon, which lasted two hours, between our people and the enemy, eight hundred in number, six hundred of whom were Indians, within one mile of Newtown,¹ and about six from Chemung. The enemy had a long breast work, but notwithstanding their very advantageous position in front and on each flank, a complete victory was gained over them. They retreated in great confusion; twenty-six of the Indians were found dead, all of whom our people scalped; their exact loss not yet known. Butler's commission and baggage were taken; also McDonald's, besides much plunder by the soldiers, jewels, hard money, etc. The finest fields of corn were destroyed, supposed to contain many thousand bushels. Our soldiers, when Dr. Kendall left them, were reduced to half allowance, notwithstanding which they were in high spirits. Two prisoners were taken, viz., a tory and a negro. Our loss, one lieutenant killed on the spot, with a few privates, one major, do. captain, etc. A. M.—Eleven o'clock, in company with Captain Shrawder and Mr. Wade left Wyoming. Between eight and

1. Now known as Elmira, N. Y. It contained in 1870, a population of upwards of fifteen thousand.

nine, P. M., reached Learn's, roads shocking bad; Bear Swamp, Shades of Death, Great Swamp, etc., scarcely passable; Learn's being the first house from Wyoming, thirty-seven miles distant; we felt not over comfortable, particularly in the evening when we were seemingly surrounded by impenetrable woods and darkness. On our reaching Learn's, we were exceedingly hungry and much fatigued. Having supped, as there were no beds, we quietly stretched our weary limbs on the floor, which being not the cleanest, resembled in a great measure its owner. But as want of sleep conquers every difficulty we soon forgot our situation by being wrapt in hard slumbers, unmindful of the spirited attacks of fleas and gnats.

Friday, September 3d. At day light awoke and to our sorrow, heard the rain descending on our shattered roof which from the appearance of the earth must have commenced some time in the night. The rain continuing till twelve o'clock, A. M., we were under the necessity of tarrying at Learn's so long, hoping for good weather. We then set out, and about two o'clock, got to Sullivan's Stores, where we pro-

cured feed for our horses, but were obliged ourselves to pass on again at four with empty stomachs; a little before dark we happily alighted at Heller's, twelve miles from Easton, for the night. This day we proceeded sixteen miles over muddy, watery roads. Notwithstanding our disagreeable feelings, happening to meet with a social landlord and partaking of a good supper, we soon felt more comfortable. A showery dark night.

Saturday, September 4th. Rose soon after day light and proposed riding immediately, but were detained by the rain. Clearing away, we pushed for Easton, arrived at ten o'clock, put up at a tavern and breakfasted. The sun breaking out rendered the day overhead very pleasant. May his bright rays continue to refresh the earth, of which it stands in much need.

Sunday, September 5th. About half past ten o'clock, A. M., in company with Captain Shrawder, took our departure from Easton for Bethlehem; got there at twelve; distance twelve miles. Dined at the tavern, afterwards we took a view of the water works, etc., so much famed; our expectations were

fully gratified. We felt ourselves much indebted to Rev. Mr. Friese and Mr. Oakley. At three o'clock, P. M., left Bethlehem, rode thirteen miles on the road which leads to Philadelphia, where Mr. Shrawder, being so kind as to accompany me, I turned off to the right, designing to proceed the nighest route to Dr. Shannon's place, Norristown. Riding three miles, and night coming on, we put up at a log house tavern, kept by an ignorant German, Philip Stall's, Richland Township, Buck's county, as well accommodated, considering all things, as could be expected, the inn-holder being very obliging and good natured.

Monday, September 6th. Arrived at Philadelphia in the evening; I had the happiness of finding my family well, for which God be praised.

HERE ENDS THE JOURNAL OF A BRIGADE CHAPLAIN.

Dr. Rogers left the army to return to Philadelphia, during the night of August 28, 1779, from that time more active operations occurred, and the publisher has thought best to conclude the story of the expedition with a condensed account of events from the official report of General Sullivan, together with

some matters from Colonel Hubley's Diary. Following the victory obtained at Newtown, on the 29th of August, the army was employed two days in destroying the crops, taking into account the extent of territory to be devastated, and the state of the commissariat, it was decided to put the army upon half rations, provided the army would consent to be reduced to that amount; an appeal was made to the men and without a single dissenting voice they consented. On the 31st, the army marched for Catharine's Town. On the way a small settlement of eight houses and another of twenty houses was destroyed, large fields of corn were also destroyed and the march resumed; roads through impassable woods, were opened for the artillery. On the first of September, Catharine's Town was reached, to be found deserted. A day was spent here in destroying the thirty houses, all the fruit trees and the crops. From an old Indian woman taken prisoner from whom they gather some idea of the numbers killed and wounded in the action at Newtown, but few dead had been found; they had been removed up the Tioga in canoes, some were rapidly buried in the woods; their graves were

found, a great many bloody packs, arms, and other things were found scattered along the line of retreat. General Sullivan, from the best information, thinks the enemy in that battle numbered fifteen hundred. Only two prisoners were taken; they stated their number to have been eight hundred. A careful examination of their breastwork was made. Its extent was something over half a mile, several bastions ran out in front of it, to flank its lines, and a small blockhouse was also in front. No defence whatever of this line appears to have been made, since General Poor made an attack on their left flank which rested on a high hill, and the whole mass fled into the woods and scattered in their usual way. September 5th, the army reached Canadia, where one of the Wyoming prisoners was recaptured; here twenty houses were destroyed, and here a day was spent in destroying the cornfields and fruit trees. From this place, September 8th, a detachment of four hundred men was sent down the west side of the lake to destroy the Indian settlements. Colonel Hubley pronounces this to be the finest Indian town they had fallen in with, the apple and peach orchards

were extensive, and the village was half a mile from Seneca lake. The village of Kanadasaga was burned and with it a great quantity of corn and beans. Two days' rations were served to the army, however; here a white child was recaptured, of it all trace has been lost. September 10th, the army reached Kanandagua, which they found, like all other towns, abandoned. It consisted of from twenty to thirty well built houses, out of hewn plank; here, as everywhere, fire laid everything level with the earth. On the 11th, they reached and burnt Anyayea, but here a post was established with a strong garrison, so as to be able to march more rapidly to reach Genesee, which the prisoners informed them, was the grand capital of the Indian country. On the 13th, Kanaghsas was reached and burned with its twenty-five houses and all its crops. While here, four men who had been sent out with Lieutenant Boyd on a scouting expedition, returned and reported the disaster which had befallen him.¹ Boyd's party consisted of twenty-six men. They reached a point six miles above Genesee, where they killed and scalped two Indians,

1. See note on page 112.

and were on their return. They had seen and were pursuing some Indians, when they fell upon a large body, some four hundred, were immediately surrounded, betook themselves to a grove and made as obstinate a fight as they could. Of course there was but one end, extermination, but it must have cost the enemy dearly. Henjosh, an Oneida Chief, was the companion of Lieutenant Boyd, and underwent the tortures with him. A man by the name of Murphy was captured by the Indians; he escaped but not until he had killed and scalped an Indian, which made the thirty-third Indian he had served the same way since the expedition started; he was a noted marksman. On the 14th, Genesee Castle was reached. It consisted of one hundred and twenty-eight well built houses,¹ in the midst of the richest country imaginable. Here was by far the best town and most considerable crops yet found. Here were corn, beans, potatoes and many other vegetables in profusion, the corn was gathered into the houses and burned, as had been done elsewhere, and

1. This is the number given by General Sullivan. Colonel Hubley places the number of houses in this settlement at one hundred and seven.

by three o'clock on the 15th, General Sullivan in a General Order, says the immediate objects of the expedition had been completed, viz., the total ruin of the Indian settlements and the destruction of their crops. On the same day the army commenced its march back to Tioga, which post was reached September 24th. General Sullivan reports that he had destroyed forty towns, and at a moderate computation, one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn, a vast quantity of other provisions and many orchards, one of which contained fifteen hundred fruit trees, with a loss to his army of less than forty men by either sickness or in battle. But a single known town was left standing in the country of the Six Nations. October 3d, the army left Fort Sullivan at Tioga Point for Wyoming, which place was reached October 7th, and the expedition ended.

TIME AND DISTANCES OF THE MARCH,

AS GIVEN BY THIS JOURNAL.

	Easton.	Left June 17.
17 miles,	Brinker's Mills.	" " 19.
9 "	Pokono.	" " 20.
8 "	Rum Bridge.	" " 21.
20 "	Camp Fatigue.	" " 22.
7 "	Wyoming. Reached June 23, left July 31.	
10 "	Lackawanick,	" August 1.
7 "	Quialutimunk. Reached Aug. 1, left Aug. 3.	
12 "	Tunkhannunk.	Reached August 3.
8 "	Masshappen.	" " 4.
5 "	Machapendarve.	
9 "	Wyalusing. Reached Aug. 5, left Aug. 8.	
10 "	Standing Stone.	Reached August 8.
3½ "	Weesanking.	" " 9.
11 "	Shesecununk. Reached Aug. 9, left Aug. 11.	
5 "	Tioga Point.	Reached Aug. 11.

Total distance, 141½ miles.

Time consumed, June 17th to August 11th, 56 days.

From arrival at Tioga, August 11th, to the battle of Newtown,
August 29th, 18 days.

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